

Miscellanies
HISTORICAL
AND
PHILOLOGICAL.

MISCELLANIES

Physical and Physiological

Being a Collection

of the
Miscellaneous

Physical



STUDY OF

THE OLD GARDEN

Printed for J. and sold by the Book-
ellers of London and Westminster, 1703

D. of Grafton

1786.

K. H. M. C.

MISCELLANIES

Historical and Philological:

Being a Curious

COLLECTION

O F

Private Papers

Found in the

Geo. Pawville Esq. of Halifax

STUDY OF A NOBLE-MAN,

Lately Deceas'd.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. T. and sold by the Book-
sellers of *London* and *Westminster*, 1703.

MISCELLANIES

Historical and Philological

PREFACE
COLLECTION

THE following papers
might very well ven-
ture to be without
a Preface. They car-
ry their own recommen-
dation in their Frontispiece.
However, the Stationers
insisting that it is neither
usual nor handsome to let
the Contents & Index jump
from the Title Page to the
Body of the Book without



T H E
P R E F A C E.

TH E following Papers might very well venture Abroad without a Preface, since They carry their own Recommendation in the Frontispiece: However, the Stationers insisting, That 'tis neither usual nor handsom to let the *Courteous Reader* jump from the Title Page to the Body of the Book without
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The Preface.

an Introductory Compliment, the Publisher, in compliance to Custom and Good Manners, thinks it proper to let the World know, That this Collection was found among the Manuscripts of the late Famous M——— of H———: Which Circumstance alone is sufficient to give an honourable Distinction to these valuable Pieces.

One Thing more will recommend them to the Publick; and that is, the *UTILE DULCI* of *Horace*, which the candid

The Preface.

did Reader will find in the
Variety of their Sub-
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Sir *HENRY SHEERE*'s
DISCOURSE
OF THE
MEDITERANIAN SEA,
AND THE
Streights of GIBRALTAR.

THE most Learned *Gallileus*, by a familiar Demonstration granting his Systeme of the World, resolves that great *Phenomenon* of Nature, the Flux and Reflux of the Ocean; the Speculation whereof [as History tells us,] cost the Famous *Aristotle* so dear: And, albeit, these and multitudes of other successful Inquirers into Nature, have enlightned the World with Volumes of admirable Discoveries highly conducing to the Felicity of the present Age, yet either not convinced of the Fact, or wanting Years of Residence upon the Place, which I have had to perfect their Observations, none that I have read, or heard of, have ever yet publish'd any

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Reasons

Reasons to the purpose touching this useful Subject. It will appear therefore at first sight, upon the Contemplation of barely Matter of Fact, a very knotty Proposition, how it should come to pass, that a Lake or Stagnant Water, [for such we may esteem the *Mediterranian*,] supplied by the Tribute of above One hundred and fifty Rivers, many whereof reckoned amongst the greatest of the World, should not only not discover a very manifest Superfluity by a violent disemboguing into the *Atlantick* Sea by the Streight of *Gibraltar*, but on the contrary, a Thirst for the most part, and want of greater Supply, as appears by an almost constant Current running directly in so strong in the Narrow or Straight, that in some Seasons of the Year no Boat with ten Oars can stem it, and in Calms, after a strong Levant is perceived, as high up as *Majorca*. Mariners, who are most conversant in this Element, are very positive in their Assertions, affirming, that there is a Disemboguing, and that it is performed by a counter Current or invisible Stream some space beneath the Surface running continually back, and think they have the Authority of a Demonstration for this Opinion, from a vulgar Experiment they make by letting fall an Anchor, and veering but two or three Cables; and, albeit, the Anchor came not near the Bottom; yet they found that the Ship's Way or Motion, became by this means very much retarded, which was evident by their now stemming the Current, which before carried them along with it. This Experiment at first View, one would think, ought to yield Reason plausible enough to back the Opinion of a counter Current; but an easie Demonstration will detect the Fallacy, and plainly evince how tamely Mankind

wherein let the Figure A B C D E be the Profile of a Lake, or Sea, into which there runs a Current from some higher Superficies. A B we call the Bottom of this Lake, which here for Evidence sake we make Level. C D we will suppose to be the Surface of a Body of Water contain'd in the said Lake, which being also levell'd and parallel to A B, is consequently in a position of Quietude, and cannot possible admit of any Motion that is not violent, as from the agitation of the Winds, or some exteriour Impulse; the accession of Water therefore from the Source above the Level of this, is only capable of giving any natural Motion to this Water; and supposing this new Accession to begin its Course at C, moving towards D, by which the Current is also begotten, but this Current cannot possibly have any, or but very light Motion beneath the Level Line C D. For by the many excellent Experiments in *Hydrostaticks*, Water admits of little or no compression or shrinking into less room. We must therefore conclude, that since the Line B D, the Bounds and Limits made by the utmost Shore, prescribe a fix'd Station in this Body of Water, then must all that is New and Additional be continued upon the Surface, where it encounters with nothing but Air and more rarify'd Medium, and less able to resist this Motion *per declive*. Hence therefore it glides without Interruption, and makes a Triangle C D E. The Angle at D being the Angle of Declivity, and making the Level Line C D the Radius, E C is the Tangent of the Angle of Declivity, and the upmost depth of the Current beneath the Surface; and hence it comes to pass, that the Anchor and Cable sinking beneath the Level Line C D, is
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check'd by the stagnant or quiet Water, and the Ship's Motion consequently retarded: For no Man that will but give himself leisure to think, can conceive so gross and palpable an Absurdity as the Motion of a Counter Current, since every Drop so moving must by miraculous, or some very occult Power lift and press up a Column of Water commensurate with its Depth, or Distance beneath the Surface, before it can move an Hair's breadth, and so must thrust forward like a Strong-man in a Crowd, which is a fond Opinion: For from such an Hypothesis, might be argued, that Water may be supplied from a Source beneath the Level of its own Surface, which is impossible: But this may be illustrated by a familiar Experiment, which I am persuaded will set us out of the reach of Dispute. Suppose the Line of Declivity ED in the Figure aforesaid, to be the Surface of the River of *Thames* at about half Ebb, for then the Tyde runs quickest, to prove that the Water at some Distance beneath either stands still, or moves but very slowly, I proceeded thus: I took a hollow Cane, which being light was properest for this purpose, and cut it to about ten Foot long, and with a piece of Cork of about six Inches square, with a hole in the middle, through which I thrust the Cane, I fix'd it about the middle of the Cane; then for the end which was to be Immers'd, or Under-water, I added such a quantity of Lead as in Still water should dispose it, and make it hang directly perpendicular, which by the half of the Cane that was prominent or out of the Water, did plainly appear; and adding also three thin pieces of Wood like Fins, to give the Water the more power upon the Lower End, I carried it out

in a Boat, and placed it in the middle of the Stream, where, instead of swimming perpendicular as it did in Still-water, it drove with the Tyde in the manner described in the Figure, the Part Above-water leaning down the Stream towards D, which was occasioned by the Immers'd Part of the Canes being got either into Stagnant-water, or at least not influenced, and carried along by so quick a Current as upon the Superficies which convey'd the Cork, which necessarily occasioned the lower Part of the Cane to trail and lag behind, whereof the stooping and leaning forward of the prominent Part is an invincible Demonstration; and this I hope may suffice, to evince at once the ungrounded Errour of the Opinion of a Counter Current, by resolving the Seaman's Experiment by Reason, and Demonstration, and by necessity of a limited and assign'd Distance of a Stagnant-surface from a Superficies, put into motion by its own Declivity: But how the several Angles from the Surface differ in their various Effects downwards to the Horizontal Superficies, what Motion to assign and appropriate to the respective Angles, and what Influence the Power of Continuity may have in relation to the agitating Water yet lower than the Level Superficies which hath been assign'd in the Figure, is humbly referr'd to a more Learned and Accurate Disquisition.

The next Reason contended by some, is, that the Water carried into the *Mediterranian* by this Current, is reconvey'd to the Ocean again by some Subterraneous Passage; but this is so feeble and defective of Argument, that it has but few Asserters, and seeming rather a Refuge for Conjecture than any solid Foundation of Truth,

is not worth a Reply further than to observe, that since Nature doth nothing in vain, it would be an idle Supposition to think, so vast a quantity of Water should be hurried into the *Mediterranian* for no other Reason but to be hurried out again; it seemeth also full as vain to suppose a Passage through so vast a Continent as invirons this Sea, and what is more concluding, were there such a Passage through the Continent, the *Levant* Winds, which always blow counter to the Current, would by the Opposition it gives, manifestly retard its Motion; but on the contrary, they wonderfully increase it, becoming almost rapid upon a *Levant* Storm, and by a long Westernly Wind, [which but seldom happens,] that ought in common Reason to usher and assist its Motion, it will gradually and manifestly decline, till at length scarce any Current is to be perceived. A *Phænomenon* of much seeming Repugnancy to the general Measure of Reason. But I shall endeavour that no solid Objection be omitted nor unanswered in place convenient; in the mean time, I shall treat of nothing but the naked History of Matter of Fact, as it lies for the most part before me in my Journal, being the Fruit of some Years diligent Inquiry and Observation upon the place.

1. Then I observe that there is a Current, but not running always into the *Mediterranian*.

2. There is at sometimes an orderly Ebbing and Flowing.

3. At other times a Current running directly out of the *Mediterranian*; the Reasons of which Variety, I shall treat of with the best Method I can.

First it is observable, that the Current running into the *Streight*, [which is ever strongest about our Summer Solstice,] holds good, for about nine Months of the twelve; and hence we may be instructed to acquit the unwary Mariner, [from whose Report the World takes up their Opinions,] who finding for the most part a Westerly Wind, especially in Summer Voyages, is easily drawn to make this imperfect Observation the General Standard of Truth; and no People are more tenacious of their Opinions, when they have once avow'd them, than Seafaring men, which entertaining at first by the Tradition of some forward Pilot, and confirm'd by some slight Remarks of their own, grow as sturdy and deaf to all the Reason and Argument that can be employ'd to undeceive them, as the Elements where-in they converse. This Apology is justly due to them, who are persuaded into a Belief that the Current runs perpetually into the *Streight*; but among many sufficient Instances, I might recite of the contrary, I shall here make use but of one Example, and that a Person, who for his Eminence in Sea-Affairs we may securely rely upon, Sir *John Hurman* by Name, an Excellent Mariner, of a very sound Understanding in all the necessary Principles of his Profession, who being of the General Opinion, that the Current run constantly in, happened about the Winter Solstice to be becalm'd in the Evening, somewhat Easternly off *Ceuta*, a Spanish Garison upon the Coast of *Barbary*, just within the Narrow, and expecting by Morning to find himself shot considerably to the Eastwards by the Current, found, to his Astonishment, he had been carried Westernly as far out as *Cape Spartell*, which Eastern Current was
by

by computation, almost as strong as it ordinarily used, to run from the Westward. The Spaniards that live at *Tariffa*, and almost on the very Point of the Narrow, with whom I have often convers'd upon the Place, and who daily pass from Shore to Shore, do avow, That at certain times in the Winter Season, they take their Statches of Flood and Ebb according to their Occasions, the Effects of the Tyde being manifest quite cross the *Streight*, and Ships are ordinarily seen becalm'd in the Narrow to drive in and out with the Stream.

These Truths being necessarily premis'd, what Structure now or Foundation of Argument will best sustain this heap of Contrariety; and by what Clue of Reason we may be guided to Truth through so great a Labyrinth of Contradiction, is our next Task; how, I say, this Lake or Sea, supply'd by so vast a Flood, as accrues by the Water of so many Noble Rivers, should not in the End run over.

Secondly, How it happens that it does not only not run over by disemboguing and making a Current out at the *Streights* Mouth, but on the contrary, craves a yet greater Supply, as appears by an almost constant Current in, which Current we have Essay'd, to prove, cannot be discharg'd either by a Counter Current, or Subterranean Passage.

Thirdly, How it comes to pass, that at other times there should be an orderly Flux, and Reflux quite cross the Narrow.

Fourthly, How it comes to pass at other Seasons to stand still.

Fifthly, To run directly out.

And, Sixthly, [which is a great Truth,] By what Means the Current should grow stronger, by
how

how much the *Levant* Winds [which blow directly in Opposition,] grow stronger; and upon the coming up of a *Westernly* Wind, which seems to further and usher it in its Course, blowing directly Trade with it, should not only not quicken it, but contrarily manifestly obstruct its Course, insomuch that in case it should endure long, [which rarely happens,] it will at length languish into almost Still-water.

The Doctrine of Exhalation, and the marvellous Effects of the Sun and Fire upon moist Bodies, by what Law of Necessity that Active Element must breath and live by Air as we do, or it will expire; and by what Wings and Instruments of Motion the ignited Particles hasten to dip themselves in the Neighbouring Stream, and having quench'd their Thirst, take Wing, and mount again into another Region; whether all, or what proportion of this Moisture so convey'd, returns to its Source again, and how it is converted, and by what tedious, crooked, and untrac'd Journeys through that World of Variety it passes, it may return to the Sea again, is a Speculation not only Foreign to this Discourse, but indeed too sublime and metaphysical for my Philosophy. A Calculation of the Effects thereof in general, or in such proportion as may assist towards the Solution of our proposed *Phænomena*, is my present Task; in order to which I am led in the first place to take notice, That of all Continents in the Universe, [as may appear by the annex'd *Planisphere*,] that of *Africa* labours most under the distress of Drouth, and Scarcity of Water, an Infelicity, I humbly believe, rather of Scituation than an Effect of *Cham's* Curse; for the Sea, the General Source of Moisture, and Parent of Fountains, Lakes,

Lakes, Rivers, &c. cannot dispence her Moisture to the Remote, as to the more Neighbouring Countries; and the Sun, by the Mediation of whose Influence this Blessing is convey'd to all the Habitable World, and by the Ministry of whose Light, Heat, and many other Noble Influences, the Universe seems to subsist, is only in this unhappy Region, the Harbinger of Destruction, and Instrument of Death and Desolation; that the Tyranny of his fierce Beams reigning here uncontroul'd by those intermediating Accidents, which conspire to the Felicity of other Regions in the same Latitude that are not only Habitable, but desirable from the Plenty they produce of all things necessary to Human Life, and Luxury; and the same Sun in the same Parallel, is deified for his Bounty, and detested for his Cruelty; the Reason whereof springs from a Cause obvious, and demonstrable: Which to explain, we may first remark, That the greatest and most extended Continent in the World, is to be found in *Africa* alone; and if we add to this the Continent of *Europe* also, which we may safely do, the *Streight* that separates them not being of very material Consequence, to yield Objection in this Proposition, then may be found [as appears in the *Planisphere* aforesaid,] a Continent under one and the same Meridian, from the Latitude of thirty five Degrees Southern Latitude, to the Latitude of seventy two Degrees Northern Latitude, being upwards of Two thousand Leagues, which is almost a third part of the Globe; whence it plainly appears, that the Sun in our Summer Solstice, surveys in and near that Meridian almost twice as much Continent as in many other Parts of the World, besides in whatsoever other Position.

tion. But to limit our Proposition, we may consider the Sun entering *Cancer*, which makes our Summer Solstice, and in the Meridian in the Longitude of Cape *Bona, Esperansa*, the most Southernly Part of *Africa*, the Sun, I say, in this Position makes Noon throughout that Meridian, which extends from the Cape aforesaid in the Latitude of thirty five Degrees South, to the most Northernly Point of Land in the Continent of *Europe*, and for ought we know in the Habitable World. This Proposition well digested, will much enlighten us in the ensuing Arguments whereof our *Hypothesis* is composed, by which it is to be hoped, the whole *Phenomenon* principally resteth: For if the Sun-Beams are most vigorous when they fall with least obliquity, which is past dispute, and by inevitable consequence, his Influence upon Moist Bodies by Exhalation augments in Reciprocal Proportion, then the Sun in the Meridian transmits his Heats in a more intense Degree than in any other Position; the Sun therefore in the Meridian, and culminating over this vast forementioned Continent, and when his Beams are most direct and piercing, and his Virtue to Exhale in the Ascendent, is at one and the same instant in a Position wherein the World stands in the greatest need of his favourable Influence, and by which, above all the Points of the Heavens besides, through which he takes his Course, he is rendred most unable to Communicate; but by the Law of fatal Necessity, must at the same moment be the Author of the two Extrems of Drouth and Moisture, for which he surveys so vast a Continent, the Sea, the Treasure, and the Universal Source of Moisture is consequently then most remote, and feels least the Power

Power of his Meridian Influence; and whilst in the Northern Regions, his feeble and imperfect Exhalations keep the Country in a perpetual Mist, and almost drowned by the Excess of Moisture, the more Southern are scorched to Cynders, and the Expiring Inhabitants dying of Hunger, and Thirst, and for want of Air cool enough to breath in: And hence may be safely inferr'd the Reason, why *France* and *Italy* are Countries so Fruitful and Delicious, and *Spain* for the most part so Barren and Thirsty, and in some Seasons almost quite scorch'd up; it being a Vulgar Error to conceive this a bare Effect of the Sun's Vicinity, but the Fatality of Scituation; there being Regions in the World under the Equinoctial, where it Rains nine Months in the Year; for the Moisture exhal'd from the Northern Sea by the Sun's unactive Heat, is soon by the natural Predominance of Continuity resolv'd into thick and solid Clouds, and quickly grows too weighty in the Collective Mass, to be transported, or held aloft, and therefore makes but slow Advances and Marches, but by degrees, towards the Sun that gives it Motion, but stoops and falls to the Earth again, till by many short repeated Flights [the Store still exhausted by the way,] it diminish at length to a Degree, or Proportion adjusted to that Temper of Clime which constitutes a Region fruitful and delicious; and such is *France* and *Italy*: And this is the true demonstrable Scale of Climates. And hence [as by *Egyptian* Column of Gradation, by which they make a Judgment of the State of the ensuing Year by the Degrees of the *Nile's* Inundation,] may be best calculated and stated, the Prognosticks of the Temperature and Constitution of Countries, and so by a progressional Proportion,

portion, If the Continent still continues, must it advance thence into degrees of Drouth and defect of Moisture? Whereof *Spain* is an instance, having [as their best Histories assure us,] been more than once dispeopled by this Misfortune, it being the continuation of a vast Continent under and near the same Meridian, which is Essential to our *Hypothesis*; and if we do not undervalue the Little *Streight* that divides the two vast Continents of *Europe* and *Africa*, we shall scarce collect Reason in relation to the Proposition we are now discussing to understand them disjoint; but a still continued Tract of Land yet Southernly, to the which Opinion we are the more easily led from our Observation, also of that strict gradual Succession of Drouth and Scarcity of Water, as ensues upon travelling up into the Country from the Coast of *Barbary*; a few Days Journey in some Parts, sufficing to bring us into a Land desert and uninhabitable from the want of Water, and the Blessings accruing by that needful Element: And here also we may reasonably conclude, to have arrived within some tolerable Prospect of the Solution of this *Phænomenon*, having by the easiest and most obvious Method I can yet think of, rendered it more than probable, that the Desert and scorch'd Regions of *Africa* are not so much from the Excess of Heat as the Default of Moisture, which Default is the Issue of a long continued Continent, as this is, under or very near one and the same Meridian; and it is not hard to make it out by this *Hypothesis*, that albeit, the Sun's Heat be virtually and intrinsically the same through the respective Parallels wherein he moves, yet the Accidents attending the Position and Situation of Countries, &c. mainly conspire in its
Regu-

Regulation ; whence [as is observed] there are Countries under or near the Equinoctial, where it Rains perpetually ; and others where it scarce ever Rains at all ; and thus Reasoning, may be inferr'd, that in case the Continent of *Europe*, as it is a vast extended Tract of Land, were an open Ocean, then would *Africa* abound with Water, and, as it is now generally a Desert, would be then a Country not only universally habitable, but desirable, flowing and abounding with plenty of all Things.

Thus, having with as much Brevity and Perspicuity as I could, traced Nature in this Progress of Variety, it being an Introduction so essential to our Discourse, as not to be omitted without rendering our Conclusions lame and obscure ; we have our Labour rewarded with this fair *Hypothesis*, [viz.] That since where the Sun's Heat is most Active and Intense, his Virtue by Exhalation is most Vigorous. From the Reasons therefore already urged, his Influence about this Meridian is most predominant. No Sea therefore, or known great Water under the Heavens, can be thought to afford rationally so great an instance of this Effect of the Sun's Power, as the *Mediterranean* Sea, being bounded by a Country for 800 Leagues together, so parch'd at certain Seasons, and destitute of Moisture, that what the Sun Exhales, does not only not return again in any Proportion, as may be inferr'd by the few Rivers to be found upon that Coast, being quickly drunk up by the thirsty Earth, but by the hasty Consumption of the Moisture daily Exhal'd, scarce any Clouds are permitted together in the Summer-Season, by which means the Sun's Beams dart with fiercer Heat, being less broken and rebated than in Mediums

diums not so much rarify'd; the Sea as well as Land being here the Scene of his scorching Influence, as many poor Seamen in their Navigations near the *Barbary Coast* in the Summer-time, do sadly experiment, where they meet with dead Calms for twenty or thirty days together; and I have been assured by some *Turkish* Navigators, that they have been in one and the same instant under Three several Kinds of Despair, [*viz.*] To die of Thirst; To be Shipwrack'd upon a Ledge of Neighbouring Rocks, towards which a great Swell of the Sea carried them; Or, to be scorch'd to Death by the excessive Heat of the Sun: The same Reason solving at once, the frequent and long Calms, and the exceeding Heat of the Weather; the Calms proceeding from want of due Collection of Moisture, convertible by the Sun's Warmth into fresh Gales; and the Heat in a two-fold degree, augmented the thinness and tenuity of the Medium, not only admitting the Sun's Beams with less Impediment and Refraction, but conspiring at the same time to a greater Intenseness of his Heat from that defect of Moisture, which being rarify'd into Wind, would with cool Breezes perpetually fan and refresh the *Atmosphere*.

And now, albeit, we have propos'd a *Theory* fram'd upon the soundest and most adequate Reasons my Invention hath yet suggested, and which I am persuaded, is not much from our purpose; yet because Truth is so precious a Jewel, and the Mark towards which all Study and Speculation is for the most part directed, it would be to derogate from the Dignity of so Noble an Object, to sit still and quiet our selves in the bare Contemplation of an *Hypothesis*, that a Happier and more
 Learned

Learned Pen might refuse, plausibly enough; there being some witty Scepticks in Philosophy, like great Masters in Painting, who are apt to employ more Art and Fancy in the making a good Piece than a-like Picture, and content themselves to let the Elegancy and Ingenuity of the Design and Workmanship compound for the defect of Unlikeness. So in Matters of bare Speculation, these are apt to perplex the more easie and accessible Paths of Learning, and thinking it too cheap and vulgar an Acquest to meet naked Truth by Day, lead us darkling into Doubt and Error by Terms and Subtilties, and after much painful Study and Inquiry we fare like Watermen in a Fog, whilst we are anxious at Delay, fall at length unexpectedly upon a Coast more distant from our Port than the Place of our Departure; and this is the fatal Source of Error, and hence have sprung so many Volumes of vain *Hypotheses* that in this Age are obtruded upon the World. Since therefore if over and above this Infelicity that attends generally Philosophical Disquisitions, the most subtle and sage Interpreters of Nature themselves, especially in Designs of this nature, are forced for the most part to be behold- ing to uncertain Relation for the principal Arguments of their Discourses, and the Borrower is ever at the mercy of the Lender; my good hap therefore securing me against the first Danger; the Point in hand being yet uncontroverted, and being out of the power of mischief from the second, every Argument I have, or shall raise in the progress of this Discourse, being founded upon, and deduced from the truest Account of Matter of Fact I have been able to make in some Years of constant and diligent Observation upon the Place,

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without relying on the least borrowed Circumstance more than for Conformation of my own Collections ; I take Assurances, that the Experiments I shall further urge for satisfying the one, and the Reasons I shall offer for Explication of the Whole, may produce an *Hypothesis* for solving all the *Phænomena*, such as upon less Experience than I have had, will hardly put me in danger of Controversie.

First then, as hath been already observed, the Continent of *Africa* is by the Law of invincible Necessity condemned to the extreamest degree of Heat and Drowth, either of which alone of but little use, and only in conjunction capable of producing the Effect we are inquiring after : Hence therefore it happens, that in this Continent all Pools, Lakes, Fountains, &c. are by the end of *June* generally drie and exhausted, their Store being exhaled and evaporated by the Sun's active Heat. We may instance in Rivers also, as that of *Alcazar*, one of the most Eminent upon the *Barbary* Coast, that in the Winter Season runs so high as to hazard the drowning of the Town, becomes about the Summer Solstice so very low, that the People ford it on foot : The Fields of *Tangier* that are esteemed fruitful amongst the *Moors*, even to a Proverb, that in the beginning of *May* bear a Crop of Herbage so very tall and rank, that Horse and Men may be conceal'd by it, and affords one of the most verdant Beautiful Landships in the World, become towards *July* so bare and scorch'd up, that from the same Prospect may be drawn the most Elegant Picture of a Desert, and Inhospitable Country. This Assertion of Matter of Fact may be avow'd, from the Customs and Practice of the Natives, who
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for the most part dwell in Tents and moving Towns, always incamping in a Posture of Motion, pursuing still this Fugitive Blessing, whose Absence is their Destruction; nor are they always exempt from the Calamity they endeavour to eschue by this necessary Method of Living; few Years passing, wherein much Cattel perish not of Drouth; and once in seven Years at the most, the same Fate overtakes them, even to the loss of their Servants and Slaves, who deserting their Masters and Country, fly for Relief to Christian Garisons upon the Coast, whereby many Governours have made their Fortunes by selling them into *Spain*; and this Profit of *Bien Venidos*, as they call them, is publickly known and allow'd. But it may be here questioned, how these Towns come to be supply'd, and like *Gideon's* Fleece, watered, when all the Country round is famishing. To which I answer, That some Towns, as *Tangier*, are founded upon the Motive of a convenient Port and advantageous Scituation; which Prospect encouraged the *Romans* to seek out Sources and Fountain Heads, though some Leagues distant off, from whence, by Canals they convey'd their Water; which Fountains and Aqueducts, when finish'd, were with much care and policy covered and conceal'd; and so successful were their Endeavours therein, that neither the Revolution of so many Ages, the Industry of the Necessitous, nor Stratagems, and Scrutinies of their Enemies has been able to this Day to deprive them of this Benefit; and hence *Tangier* enjoys plenty of the best Water esteem'd upon that Coast: Nor was this so great an instance of the Magnificence and Ostentation of that splendid People, as of their Wisdom, and Policy, the extraordinary utility of

the Port, and Scituation of the Place inviting their Choice, and in the Issue infinitely recompenced the Expence of so costly a Work.

And here, were it not a fitter Subject for a Treatise than a Digression, I might say my Opinion touching this Noble Port of *Tangier*; which, in a word, is a Jewel fit only to adorn the Crown that wears it, whose Value I can better conceive than write, and humbly refer it to a more worthy Pen, or to a truer and more impartial Relator. Time for a few Years, in despite of all the Obloquy cast upon it by the Enemies of His Majesty's Honour and Dominion Abroad, will suffice to polish it to much perfection of Use and Publick Service both for Peace and War, as would be very hard for a Stranger to believe, and scarce fit for a modest Pen to write. Other Towns, in a Country of so general a Scarcity of Water, have taken their Beginnings; and the original Ground of their first Planting, hath been from some extraordinary Springs and Living Fountains: And this in short, may suffice to resolve these Kinds of Objections.

Thus having made it first easie to conceive, That this Continent ought in respect of its Scituation; and, Secondly, That it is avowedly in Matter of Fact of all the known Regions of the World, most defective and destitute of Water; let us now illustrate the General History of Truth by a few opposite Experiments of my own, and then proceed to consider, what in Sum may be deduced towards perfecting the *Hypothesis* we are prosecuting.

I consider, That as it was manifestly true, that the Consumption of Moisture is very sudden and violent, as appears by so speedy a scorching up
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of the Country, draining of Ponds, Lakes, Rivers, &c. so this violent Motion for ought I knew, might be augmented by Circumstances and Accidents of Force only upon the Surface of the Earth, which not being by the way well examined, might possibly beget much Error in our Calculations of the like Effects, upon a Surface not influenced by, or subject to the like Accidents; I therefore considered, that the Earth on the Superficies whereof these marvellous Effects were wrought, was a Body solid, and more receptive and tenacious of Heat than the Sea; and being once well warmed by the Sun's piercing Beams, became like Fire under a Pot, and might equally conspire with the Sun's immediate Influence, to the accelerating this Effect of Drouth, &c. we discourse of; and whereof the Land Breezes in the Night Season, are indeed a pregnant Testimony of Dews that fall upon the Sun's retiring, being by the Warmth yet retain'd upon the Surface of the Earth attenuated and converted into gentle Gales, whereof all Navigators in the Summer-time [especially on the Coast of *Barbary*,] make great account.

But we had reason to doubt of this Effect in the like degree and permanence upon the Surface of a deep Sea, by whose continual Fluctuation the Superficies being under a perpetual Motion of Diversity, the Sun-Beams became refracted; and the Heat consequently not so intense as upon the Earth a fix'd Body and solid, the Surface whereof by many incident Concavities of Valleys, Reflections of Mountains, &c. hath as many Accidents that minister to the fixing and augmenting of this Heat, as there upon the Ocean to disperse and diminish it. To make a true Calculation

therefore of this strange Production of the Sun's fierce Influence, and also of the difference in relation to the respective Circumstances aforesaid, I framed a Vessel or Cistern as in the Figure; in the Centre of the bottom of which, I fixed a Scale of Equal Parts standing perpendicular, and extending from the bottom to the top of the Vessel; by which Scale, I could easily and exactly observe the Abatement of the contained Water, whose Surface intersecting it at Right-Angles, the respective Gradations did plainly indicate to the tenth part of an Inch the Consumption thereof. This Vessel being fill'd with Water, I expos'd first in a place where the Sun, which was then in *Cancer*, had free liberty for the space of twelve hours, to transmit its utmost Influence; together with which was considered, the adventitious Warmth of the Earth, which I conceived might conspire to the greater activity of the Vapour's Motion; in which space of twelve hours, the Water in the Vessel was exhale'd and abated by the Scale about four Inches. Afterwards I placed the said Cistern [still expos'd to the direct Beams of the Sun,] just over the Mouth of a very deep Well, by which Position, I concluded the accidental Heat aforesaid would in some measure be abated, and herein I was not deceived; for the Abatement of the Water was manifestly less than before. Then I made a third effectual Experiment, by placing the same Vessel afloat in the Bay of *Tangier*, in five or six Fathom depth of Water, whereby bating the Vicinity of the Shore, by whose Warmth the *Atmosphere*, we must conclude, is in some measure more heated than at a greater distance of, we may modestly derive our General Rule for calculating the Sun's ordinary Influence in point of

of Exhalation; and truly, from hence alone [without taking in other Circumstances of valuable Consideration hereafter to be mentioned,] we can make out, and may conclude safely, that the *Mediterranian* about that Season of the Year, were it not for the Supplies it receives from the Ocean by the Streight of *Gibraltar*, &c. would abate by this violent Effect of the Sun's Heat upon its Surface, at the least three Inches in every four and twenty hours. The *Mediterranian* therefore lying extended upon almost one and the same Parrallel for 800 Leagues together, we may justly infer a greater Production of this *Phænomenon*, up towards *Sicilia*, *Candia*, *Cyprus*, &c. as well in regard the Coast-Trenches thereabouts somewhat Southernly, as from a more effectual Argument, (*viz.*) The proximity of our principal *Meridian*, wherein is founded the main Rule of our *Hypothesis*, and which is indeed the Keystone of the Arch upon which the whole stress of our Superstructure resteth; nor ought we to let pass the Consideration of this Parallel Position of the *Mediterranian*, by which the Sun's Meridian Virtue reigns a longer Space, than upon any other whatsoever, culminating through every degree of Longitude for 800 Leagues together; whereas, were this narrow Sea extended near one and the same Meridian, the vertical Influence would be less, according to the Disproportion between the Breadth, and the whole Sea: And now, since this mighty Effect of the Sun's Predominancy ceases to be a Wonder, if we but observe also, that the *Mediterranian* hath no Communication with the Ocean but by the Streight of *Gibraltar*, from whence it is principally supply'd and replenish'd; which Streight being scarce

three Leagues broad, and the *Mediterranian* to which it conveys these Supplies, being a Superficies in some places above 200 Leagues broad, and in length 800 Leagues; a Current running into the Streight therefore, whilst these Effects are in their Exaltation, must needs by this time appear a very natural, easie, and necessary Truth; for such is the Disproportion betwixt this vast Surface, to be swell'd into an *Equilibrium* with the Ocean, and this narrow Streight or Gap through which the Supply is to be convey'd; that it is almost demonstrable, were it not for the *Euxine* [the Receptacle of many great Rivers,] which over-runs, and disembogues into the *Mediterranian* by the *Propontis*, together with the constant Tribute of many other Noble Rivers, which discharge themselves directly into this Sea, and the vast Floods of Rain, that for two or three Months together are transported by strong Southernly Winds out of that great Ocean; were it not, I say, for these Supplies, and that if we might have liberty to suppose no Communication with the Ocean, but this Sea a vast extended Lake bounded on all Quarters, and then making a Calculation from these Experiments by a Rule of mean Proportion, it will appear, that by Force and Prevalency of Exhalation, the *Mediterranian* would abate near a Foot in a Perpendicular Line in the Revolution of one Year.

And now, since upon easie Reasoning, and by Experiments plain and practicable, we can thus almost tread on the Heels of a Demonstration, and that we can avowedly infer and conclude upon the truth of an unseen Cause, by an Effect so visible and notorious as this of the Sun's Exhaling in so great a Proportion, by what subtle Means

Means and invifible Agents , we perceive not ; let us confider how far one may make a Judgment of , and infer an Effect unfeen by a Cause familiar and notorious , and of what ufe it may be to us in the further profecution of this Argument ; and this leads me to offer my Opinion touching Spouts , whereof the *Mediterranean* in the Summer-Season fo much abounds, and ought certainly to be reckoned amongst the prodigious *Phenomena* of Nature ; and feeing as it were her laft Effort, to prevent a *Vacuum*, which whofoever but fees, and will but maturely confider the frequency of the Object, will but little abate his Wonder. But Matter of Faét being true, and the Cause not out of fight, I fubmit further Difquifition to the Learned , whofe Speculations may poffibly lead them to the Anatomy of this Prodigy, and to examine by what Instruments and extraordinary Agents Nature proceeds in this fingular and marvellous Method of raifing Water in fo vaft a quantity, to fo great a Heighth, and in fo few Moments. For certainly, this differs from the ordinary way of Exhalation , as our feveral Engines for raifing of Water differ amongst themfelves, fince therefore it is fo, whereof Millions of Eyes both by Sea and Land, are daily Testimonies : I am content with *David*, who [though an Inspired Philofopher,] thought fit to fignalize this amongst the Subjects of his Wonder, and quiet my felf with only taking notice, that it muft needs be a Production of the fame Cause , but in a more intenfè Degree by which other more rarify'd Exhalations are effected , and may be thought a new and ftrange Link of that Chain of Causes which confpire in the Production of the *Phanomenon* we are ftill purfuing. For the *Atmosphere*

mosphere becoming inflam'd upon the Sun's approach towards our Tropick, and the great Continent of *Africa* being, as is observ'd, destin'd by an inevitable Law of Nature to the extreamest degree of Drouth and Scarcity of Water; and there being no Lake or Sea capable of ministring Relief but the *Mediterranian*, from the Reason already urged: And this Sea being of too limited a Surface to yield competent Supply to so vast a Region labouring universally under this Calamity, Nature seems distress'd and reduced to her last Shifts, and when her common Methods fail, summons [as it were] her Arrier band to prevent, for ought we know, some sort of Dissolution; for I am perswaded, were it not for this Midland-Sea, out of whose Bosom such vast Quantities is exhaled for this purpose, the greatest part of *Africa* would be Burnt, or at least a Desert. From hence therefore may be inferr'd the Wisdom of the Creator, as well as his Infinite Bounty and Goodness, who has so appointed the Structure of the World, that only so small a part of it labours under this Affliction. For, without all doubt, had the four Quarters of the Earth and Islands been continued into one Universal Continent, [as some ancient Untravelled Philosophers have dream'd,] and the Sea confin'd to the Verge or extream Sides thereof, without any such Communication with the Liquid Element, as is provided by the *Mediterranian*, the *Baltick*, and *Red Sea*, *Euxine*, *Caspian*, and the variety of mighty Lakes to be found in all great Continents, it would not be Difficult to make out by this *Hypothesis*, that in such case scarce half the World would have been Habitable.

But

But not to prolong Digressions, the *Mediterranean* [as I was observing,] being too strait to afford Moisture in any proportion, for the Supply of so general a Drouth by the ordinary way of Exhalation; Nature seems compell'd to set these stupendious Engines at work, not unlike to distressed Mariners, who, when they have sprung a Leak too big for their Relief by their ordinary Methods, have recourse at length to all sorts of extraordinary Instruments, and Vessels to free themselves from the dangers that threaten Shipwreck and Destruction; and there being now no room for Doubt, but that Nature, who like a pious Mother, is anxious and industrious to distribute her Favours equally, works not these Wonders but for some adequate End. This Branch of our Discourse may therefore help to further explicate both the necessity and expence of Moisture in these Regions, and with yet greater Evidence upon considering a little the History of Spouts, which I have collected partly by my own Observation, but more especially, by informing my self from the Reports of the Ablest Navigators I could find in the several Countries where I have convers'd; and I cannot yet learn that either in the *Indian*, or *American* Ocean, nor in the *South-Sea* under the *Æquator*, or elsewhere, hath been seen at any time above four Spouts at once, whereas in the *Mediterranean*, some Leagues Easternly of *Sicilia*, hath been seen thirty four at a time; I remember my self to have seen ten or eleven, and that too when the Season was declining, the Sun being near the *Æquinoctial*. And since Effects give us the most infallible Account of their Causes, and are the best Aids towards making a Judgment thereupon, we may
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from hence safely infer Three useful Conclusions :

1. That in that Season , the Sun's Heat rages here more fiercely than in any part of the World besides.

2. And consequently , the Neighbouring Continent must lye under a deeper sense of this Inclemency than any other Region.

3. If we may take the liberty to make use of this Disproportion between four, and thirty four, it will appear, that there is above eight times more Moisture exhal'd and convey'd out of the *Mediterranian* than from any proportionate Space of the Universal Ocean beside ; nor will it be amiss to be yet a little more Mathematical and Demonstrative, as far as the reason of the Conjecture will bear, by calculating the Space wherein these thirty four Spouts were visible at once, which we may allow to be a Periphery or Circumference of about seven Leagues Diameter : For such as Prospect a Man may have upon a Ship's Deck , and then by casting up of the Area, or superficial Quantity of this Space , and comparing it with the whole Area of the *Mediterranian*, calculated from the best Rules our Mapps afford us ; and granting that all such Times as these thirty four Spouts were seen , Nature was as busily employ'd throughout all Quarters of the *Mediterranian*, which is not hard to allow ; then by this Operation it will appear, that within the Limits of the *Mediterranian*, she had at the least 60000 of these mighty Engines at work at one and the same time ; and here the contemplative Man might possibly improve this Hint , and spin out a longer and more delicate Thread from this Bottom, and yet even at length we must confess,
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the subtilty of Nature's working will ever defeat, in some degree, the most accurate and study'd researches of Human Wit.

To conclude then, if Nature [as is observed] does not the least thing in vain, there can be no reason to think she is in sport when she produces Wonders, and as our not being able to ascribe a certain Limited Distance to the Heavenly Bodies, cannot be thought to lessen our Belief of their wonderful Distance from us; so though we cannot reduce to Experiment, or propose any Rule whereby to make a Judgment of the proportion of Moisture thus convey'd as we did in the common way of Exhalation, yet from the Premisses we may safely and ingeniously conclude, that the quantity is exceeding great, which I doubt not will be esteem'd another strong Voucher for the Rationale of our *Hypothesis*.

And now, lest I should swell to a Treatise, what is intended an humble Essay, I trust I may rest assured to have at least said enough to explicate a necessity of a Current running into the *Mediterranian*, as well from the Order of Nature and Structure of the World, as from visible Universal Causes and Experiments, almost as concluding as a Demonstration; so that if it may be granted we attain'd this most difficult Point of our *Phenomenon*, we shall be able from hence as from higher ground to survey the rest with ease, as being for the most part, but the several Assents and progressional Methods by which Nature proceeds to this. What hath been said, may therefore suffice for the Explication of our first Problem, how there ought to be a Current.

For

For the Second, we shall in a few words be able to explain how it happens, that though the Current runs into the Streight for the most part, yet it doth not hold so throughout the Year, where let us a little trace the Sun, the Parent and principal Author of the divers *Phænomena* we are studying.

1. As to his Motion of Declination between the Tropicks, our Astronomical Tables afford us Light sufficient.

2. As touching his Influences on the Seasons and Weather throughout the World, constant Experience makes the best mention of that Truth: Having therefore kept with much care and exactness, an *Ephemeris* of the Weather, as also of the Current for near four Years together during my Abode at *Tangier*, I became both enabled and encouraged to write not only the History of Matter of Fact in both, but upon mature Debate to make some Offer at the Reason and Causes; for, after having compar'd my Yearly Observations, and finding both the Current and the Weather agreeing in their respective Periods, and their Changes and Resolutions held exact Consent and Analogy with the Sun's Motions, I took hence my first Hint for proposing the *Hypothesis* by which *Phænomena* may be resolv'd.

Having therefore already discours'd the true and naked History of the Current, and treated as concisely as may be upon the first Problem, and proved the necessity of such an Appearance, let us, I say, proceed to the Second, [*viz.*] Why this Current doth not hold its Course the whole Year about. It is already explain'd, that the Current is and ought to be most in force about the

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Summer's Solstice ; of consequence therefore, the Cause productive thereof is at the same time nearest its Ascendant, if the Sun then, whose Influence is about that Season most predominant, be the Essential Promoter of the various Causes that conspire to this marvellous Production, [which I presume is now past Doubt,] we need not grope for a Reason, but proceed to take notice that as he declines, and by degrees takes his leave of our Northern *Hemisphere*, whereof the whole *Phænomena* of Nature makes but one Universal Instance, both Man, and Beast, Animals and Vegetables; the humblest Shrub to the proudest Cedar, bearing about them, as it were, an Inscription of his daily Motions; his various Aspects being still the Sources of as various Productions, it cannot admit of Dispute, that in our Case wherein his Influence challengeth so much Dominion, there can be urged the least Exception. The Sun's Heat therefore growing by his Distance more remiss, his Influence and Exhaling Virtue decline and grow Languid; and after he hath pass'd the *Æquinoctial*, and whilst he withdraws apace from the Northern World, and all things on this side begin to mourn his Absence, he visits other Regions, and the Southern *Hemisphere* begins to warm, and an Universal Spring proclaims his Presence and Dominion; and as he still moves towards that Tropick, and still consequently retrenches his Favours to us on this side the *Æquator*, his Exhaling Virtue becomes at length suspended; and as during his Recess, the *Atlantic* Ocean is hastning to replenish the *Mediterranean* by the Streight of *Gibraltar*, and to reduce it to an *Æquilibrium*: So the Sun towards the Winter Solstice, coming to survey the two
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great Seas of *India* and *Æthiopia*; and all that vast Southern Ocean between them, transfers his Exhaling Power thither, where having so spacious a Medium wherein to display his Beams, the huge Floods of Rain drawn from this mighty Deep, grow as much into Excess as what the narrow Surface of the *Mediterranian* could yield, was short of supplying the Necessities of the parch'd and thirsty Continent that bounds it; in Testimony whereof it is remarkable, that not only *Barbary*, but *Castile* it self in the Heart of the *Spanish* Continent, [where also I had some Years of Residence,] is ever watered from the South, scarce a drop of Rain falling that is not accompanied by a Southernly Wind, especially upon the Continent of *Barbary*, where the Rains are constantly driven by Storms of Wind at South, and S. S. W. and we that are concerned in the Affairs of the Mole, make the best Prognosticks of the approach of Great Seas, and take the Alarm of foul Weather from the coming in of the Rains, and it is seldom seen they sur vive each other; they come in about the Winter Solstice, and hold almost a continued violent Rain for a Month, six Weeks, and two Months together; so that what with the Relaxation of the Sun's Heat, by which all kind of Exhalation in our *Hemisphere* is in a manner extinguish'd, the vast Torrents that hasten from the glutted Continent, as well by Rivers as by a thousand mighty Cataracts to be seen all along the Coast of *Barbary*, together with the huge Proportion of these Rains that fall directly into the *Mediterranian*, and the constant Supply from the Ocean aforesaid by the Streight of *Gibraltar*, the *Euxine*, &c. the Current, I say, by this Revolution and Succession
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of different Causes gradually declines, and at length expires; for that from hence the *Mediterranean* becomes replenished, and is restored to an *Æquilibrium* with the Ocean, which plainly explicates the second Problem; for during this Intermission of the Current, there being no Declivity but what is begotten from the general Flux and Reflux of the Ocean, the Streight or Narrow must consequently be influenced by that, and therefore the Observation of Tydes in the Narrow about this Season of the Year, [which upon this Suspension must needs ensue,] is evidently made out which was to be cleared.

The Third Proposition is, how we may prove and resolve by Reason, how at some Seasons there comes to be a Current running directly out: I have already observed it is so, and vouched the Matter of Fact by the Authority of Sir *John Harman*; which single Testimony may suffice, in regard many more may be urged, to fortifie therefore in two words the truth of this improbable Story, [for it will find some Unbelievers;] let us examine by our usual Method, and see what Reason in this Case offers in our favour. We have arrived to the Explication of our respective Problems hitherto, by the most gradual and methodical Steps my Understanding can yet suggest, and have, I trust, attain'd tolerable Evidence for the necessity of the several Appearances, and it will not, I hope, be difficult to inlarge; yet our Prospect, by considering the same Cause in a greater Extension, and propagated to a yet further Degree, which reduced the *Mediterranean* to this State of an *Æquilibrium* with the Ocean, by which Calculation the Question will prove so easie, that it will be hard to avoid stumbling upon the Solution;

lution ; the same conflux of Causes that brought us to this vertical Point, naturally planting us upon the brink of a new Declivity, and as when a Star culminates, the first moment of his Departure from the Meridian, is the first step to his declining ; so the next Accident to this *Æquilibrium*, [supposing the Causes still in force, which but seldom fails,] begets a Superfluity in the *Mediterranean*, which produces a Declivity out of the *Streights*, and consequently a Current from the Eastwards, which needs not further Explication. But this being a Production so short-lived is scarce observed, and so not very easily credited ; for these Effects of Winter, [although violent,] yet are here soon over, and the Sun revisits us apace, and begets new and sudden Appearances, and the most lasting are the most observed ; and therefore this Remark of Matter of Fact is made but by a few, and the Cause too for the most part misinterpreted.

We are come now to our Fourth and Last principal Observation, [*viz.*] The strange Repugnance we find between the Current running into the *Mediterranean*, and the *Levant* Winds which blow directly out, their Motions being ever so contracting, that by how much the *Levant* increases, by so much the Current quickens ; and if the one rises to a Storm, the other swells to a Torrent. But before I give my Opinion touching this hard Question, it may not be amiss to consider a little, First, What the *Levants* are. They are called *Levants* both from their Course, as blowing from the East where the Sun rises, and also from their freshning and rising higher as the Sun rises ; for they are generally at their Height when the Sun comes to the Meridian, and dul-
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ler as the Sun declines; and unless it prove a Storm; and Over-blow, the Night's for the most part Calm, and the Wind off the Shore all the Summer long; and as these Winds are of all others the most legitimate Production of the Sun's Heat and Vicinity, so they reign most in Summer, and are strongest about that Solstice. It is also further remarkable, that at *Tangier*, where I had my Residence, all Winds to the Eastward of the Meridian convert into *Levants*, but on the West-side it blows where it listeth; we have also *Levants* which are called through *Levants*, and these generally are the strongest and most lasting; for that they hold their Course quite through the *Mediterranian*. Another sort there is, which the *Spaniards* call *Levante contra Hicho*, which seldom blows from above eight or ten Leagues within the Narrow, and are out of Breath before you can double *Cape Spartell*; but the fiercer *Levant's* dull apace after you are once out of the *Streight*, and many times fail you in the Offering; albeit, it blow a Storm in the Narrow, which is a pregnant Vindication they are propagated by a Cause from within, but the manner how, remains to be discuss'd, which; after this short necessary History we may proceed to discourse. And First, It is an Essential Point to consider the Structure and Position of the Coast of the *Mediterranian* Sea, especially on the *African* side, as also on the Coast of *Spain* at least, as high up as *Cape St. Paul*; which we find to be generally exceeding high Land and Mountainous, and precipitous on the *African* side, that it is but in few places accessible; from whence proceeds the Scarcity of Ports upon that Coast, and in the Narrow, the vast high Land of *Apes-Hill*, and *Gibraltar* is notorious enough.

As to their Position, they lye almost upon two direct Parallels, [*viz.*] Upon a due East and West Line, as also is the Inlet, or Narrow, as in Valleys therefore continu'd between a long Tract of Mountains, the Wind blows always Trade, either directly one way or another tracing the Rumb, or Course of the Vale; let the *Atmosphere* above be agitated, or driven never so variously. So these two fluid Elements by the trenching of the Coast below, and the lofty and mountany Boundaries above, are conducted necessarily through this Vale or Channel, let the first *Impetus* be from what Quarter soever, which [as was observed,] resolves all Winds on the East-side of the Meridian into *Levants*. If it be granted then, that all Agitations of the *Air* or *Atmosphere* within the *Streight*, must pursue the Course or Rumb, its Boundaries those two mountainous Coasts seem to prescribe it, let us inquire what Assistance may be thence had, in order to the framing an *Hypothesis* for Solution of this our last *Phenomenon*.

To avoid Repetition therefore, we may first resort to what hath been already treated on touching the Sun's Prevalence upon the Surface of this Midland-Sea, which proving to be the undoubted Cause of all Moisture, is as avowedly the Parent of these Emotions we are enquiring after above the watry Surface; for according to my humble sense of the Nature of Exhalations, the Moisture exhal'd, and the Breezes and Winds that accompany this Effect of the Sun's Heat, are Twins of the same Parents, and albeit, not always perceptible to human Sight, from the Reasons already offered touching the dead Calms in the *Mediterranian*; yet since there can be no
Exha-

Exhalation without Motion, the insensibility thereof, when it so happens, ought no more to influence our Opinion on the Negative, than one ought to argue against the motion of the heavenly Bodies, because our Eyes cannot trace their Progress. If these two Effects then prove so near akin, we need not but recur to the Reasons already urged for Explication of the necessity of so vast a quantity of Moisture exported from this Sea; for the Coelestial Warmth hath no sooner attenuated the watry Surface into Vapour, but this Vapour gradually rarifying, and back'd still with new Supplies, exacts proportionable degrees of Space for its Expansion; and where there is not a fair unbounded Horison, that may yield free and ample Scope for this Progression, by how much the Motion is obstructed in one Part, [by whatsoever accidental Impediment,] by so much is the Force and *Impetus* augmented, where it finds liberty of Passage in another; and as in the *Eolipile*, the same Vapour that by virtue of the Neighbouring Heat, would, if at liberty, but justly calmly breath away in a silent Stream, makes, when confin'd, that violent and forcible Protusion we observe in that useful Experiment; so in this Sea, on whose Surface the Sun's Beams are so predominant, like one Immense *Eolipile*, whose mountainous Coasts blocking up, as it were, and confining this Conflux and Motion of new Matter, the dilated medium reverberates from the Sides; and as in the Speaking Instrument, [if one might offer at other Reasons than what the ingenious Inventor hath published for so violent an Explosion of the Air,] the percussion of the Air which naturally would form it self into an Orbicular or Elliptical, being by the oppugning Sides of the

Instrument cast at length into a Cylindrical Figure, and so moves and transmits Articulation by a Cylinder of *Medium* in a direct Line adequate to the Orbicular or Elyptical Form, it would otherwise have partaken [or as a Globe of twelve Inches Diameter fill'd with Water, will fill a Cylinder of one Inch Diameter, or near an hundred and fifty Foot in length, when the *Radii* of that Globe is otherwise but six Inches in length, that is, the remotest Confines of the Liquor so formed, is but six Inches removed from the Center ;] in like manner, I say, the *Atmosphere* in this continual Progress of Expansion incountring with these lofty Barricadoes, by the way becomes streightned, and [no Figure being so capacious as the round,] is more crowded and comprest in any other Form whatsoever: But the Figure into which it becomes cast by, these resisting Boundaries being Cylindrical, at least Oblong, is so diverse and repugnant to this natural Propension to a Circular Motion, that the Contest becomes by this Means more violent, and the *Atmosphere* distorted, and, as it were, enraged by this Confinement, fiercely and naturally pursues its Passage where it meets with least Opposition. This Streight therefore, or Gap, opening upon a direct Line with this Current of the *Atmosphere*, and whose Bottom is a Surface horizontally continious with the Source of these Agitations, [*viz.*] The Sea within the Streight, this smooth, direct, and easie Path, does on the one hand invite its Passage, whilst on the other it is impuls'd by the aforesaid Causes; and hence by occasion also of the exceeding high Land on each side the Narrow, is begotten that frequent tempestuous and rapid Motion of the *Levants* during the Summer Season, which remain'd to be cleared.

But

But a contemplative Objector might possibly criticise upon this last Observation, and urge, that though it be true that the Coast is fortified and barr'd by this high Land on each side, yet the fleet Motion of the winged Vapour would soon surmount that Obstruction, and by an easie and speedy Flight ascend the proudest Tops of these Precipices. To which I answer, That in case the major part did not break Prison that way, and the incumbent and more attenuated Particles were not push'd, and hove upwards by the perpetual Increment, and propulsion of fresh Vapour from the Sea, the Streight of *Gibraltar* infinitely too narrow to discharge so prodigious a Conflux, would upon the least agitation of the *Atmosphere* within the *Mediterranian*, breath nothing but Tempest and Horrour, and during the *Levant*, or Summer Season, would be a continual Storm, and consequently utterly Unnavigable. But to render this my Concession practicable, and therefore more credible, I caus'd a Vessel to be prepared as in the Figure, which being Oblong, the Fome was more adjust'd to my purpose; and filling it half full of Water, [*viz.*] up to the Height of the Gap left at the end, which representing the Nar-row, as the two Sides prolonged did the Coast of the *Mediterranian*; I apply'd it so nigh a good Fire, as that contain'd Water might soon grow warm, and as it did, and the Steam began to rise, though it breathed calmly away over the top of the Sides, yet the Gap standing in a lower Position, and nearer the Surface, the Source of the ascending Vapour breathed so strong a Steam, that it would blow out the largest Candle I could apply to it; the dilating *Medium*

to every degree of its Ascent and Rarification, requiring larger space than the Vessel could afford for its Expansion; and so the higher the Sides are continued above the Surface of the contain'd Water proportionably, is abridg'd the liberty of attenuating Particles, and is augmented their Activity through the Passage aforesaid; Howbeit, this I must say, that I have frequently remark'd upon an easie *Levant* Breeze, that the Clouds upon *Apes-Hill*, and the adjoining Mountains, have rested with little or no Motion; whence may be inferr'd, that whilst the Narrow could give convenient Passage, those Mountains prescrib'd entire Bounds to the *Levant's* Motion, nor can it in nature be otherwise, no more than a Man in his wits would break Prison by scaling the Walls, when he might safely make his Escape by the Door. Thus having laid down a concise and true History of the *Levants*, and reason'd as far, and as evidently as I am able, touching their Production, Predominance, Progress, &c. It only remains, that I should clear this our last Difficulty, and Paradox in Nature; whose Catholick Law seems violated by this contesting Motion of the Current, the Liquid Element, according to Universal Experience as well as Reason, being ever passively hurried, and like the Clouds above, agitated and transported, as the Motion of the uncertain Winds shall dispose them. Let us therefore inquire, how this Counter Motion is begotten, and that as the *Levants* grow higher, the Current which opposes it also increases.

I have endeavoured to explain almost to the verity of a Demonstration, that the *Levants* are of all other Winds the most Legitimate Off-spring of the Sun's predominant Warmth upon the Surface

face of the *Mediterranian* Sea, they are therefore consequently the faithfullest Reporters, and as it were the true Ephemeris and Calculation of the Degree intense, or remiss of the Power and Cause which constitutes and begets them; and we may as safely make a Judgment of the Sun's Influence within this Sea, in respect of Energy or Relaxation thereof, by the forcible or languid Motion of the *Levants*, as one may judge of a Fever by the Pulse, or infer Frost or Thaw by their visible different Productions; albeit, our remaining Senses should continue without Conviction. Having therefore cleared the necessity of a Current running into the *Mediterranian*, and established the Reasons upon the very same Cause whereby the *Levant* Winds receive their Motions, and and are so pregnant an Indication, we stand in need but of little Explication of the reasonableness of the Current thus swelling and opposing it self against the *Levants*; for if we persist in our Reasoning from the safe Principles, we have hitherto endeavoured to preserve inviolated, it would appear a more posing Difficulty should it have happened otherwise, and indeed were a Contradiction, and would spring a Leak even in our main *Hypothesis*; for the Angle of Declivity by which the Current receives its Motion, increasing in proportion to the Cause, by which this *Impetus* is generated, most naturally and evidently explains the necessity of the Currents accelerating in a proportionable Counter Motion, which was to be resolv'd. But we may yet superadd a Remark of conclusive Evidence, wherein our Senses are of great use to our Speculation touching this last Problem, and that is, that the *Levants* are so very moist that nothing can be secured from

from Rust and Tarnish when they blow, even our Watches will stand still in our Pockets, and Swords rust in the Scabbard; and so impregnated are these Winds with Moisture, that near the Surface of the Water they wet to the Skin, [as not by the Breach or Sprey of the Sea,] which my self, and hundreds more, have often experimented, when the Affairs of the Mole have detain'd us long upon Duty. I cannot at present think upon any Example of Propriety enough for an Allusion towards a further Explanation of this Problem. I trust therefore, I need not labour after further Perspicuity; for Truth lyes in a little room; and I have studied to sustain the whole Discourse upon Reason deduced from the best account of Matter of Fact, wherewith my Observations for some Years could furnish me, from whence I have made the shortest Digressions that may be; yet 'tis an untrodden Path I have travelled, which may be some Apology for Errour wheresoever it shall appear: Howbeit, I could better endure the Rebukes of the Severe for so bold an Adventure, than the Reproaches of my Friends, for not saying something on a Subject perfectly new, and wherein my Experience might be thought to have qualified me in some sort to render a Reason, and whereby the Publick might receive Benefit from the Hint, such an Essay might afford to some worthy Person to finish in perfection a Piece, whereof I have but traced the Out-Lines, to whose Candour and Learned Censure, in all humble Ingenuity, I most readily submit.

D I V E R S

D I V E R S
Remarkable O R D E R S
O F T H E
L A D I E S at *Spring-Garden*
I N
P A R L I A M E N T Assembled :

T O G E T H E R

With certain V O T E S of the Unlawful Assembly at *KATE's* in *Covent-Garden*.

Both sent Abroad to prevent Misinformation.

Vespere Diei veneris Martii 26, 1647.

ORdered by the Ladies Assembled in Parliament, That their Orders and Votes be forthwith Printed, and Published, to prevent all such Misreports, and Scandals, as either Malice, or want of Wit, heightned with Snuff of Ale, or stain'd Clarret may raise, to the Dishonour of their said Votes and Proceedings.

B. Kingsmill, Cler. Parliamentorum.

T H E

TH E Rattle headed Ladies being Assembled at *Kate's in Covent-Garden*, and having spent some time in choosing their Speaker, [it having been objected against the Lady Dutcheſs, that ſhe had uſed beating up of Quarters, and other Youthful Sports, too frequently with Prince *Rupert*,] they at laſt reſolved upon the Lady *Iſabella T—ne*, hoping thereby their Acts might have great Influence on the King's Maſteſty. Firſt therefore, they took into conſideration their own Buſineſs, and voted, That no Round-head ſhould dare to come into any of their Quarters; and on the contrary, none of their Members, [*viz.*] Cavaliers, do cohabit in any of the Round head's Quarters, or pay any Contribution to them by way of Benevolence, Loan, or otherwiſe.

That Thanks be given to the Lady *M—tague, T—ham, C—ven, &c.* for their Courtiſies and Favours to the diſtreſſed Cavalleers beyond the Seas. Ordered thereupon, That their ſaid Ladyſhips, together with the Lady *S—nhop*, have leave to ſell, give away, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of their *French* Commodities, without paying Excife or Cuſtom.

That *Mrs. Phillips* be forthwith ſent into *France* from the Houſe, to the Lord *M—tague*, to let him know his Lady hath negotiated with the Members of both Houſes.

It was thought fit by the whole Houſe, That a Troop of tryed Able Men ſhould be raiſed, that ſo they might be the more ſecure againſt all their Adverſaries; but it was long in Debate, who ſhould be Commander in chief of it: For my Lady *N—port* the Counteſs, moved for my Lord *D—by*, who ſhe confeſs'd was not the Ableſt Man
the

she had convers'd with by many, yet in polling they ought not to despise him, considering how the King favours him; and that if need be, [though he have the Title,] yet they may constitute another under him to go through with their Business. But there was another Lady which much oppos'd her, and was very desirous that my Lord *G—ring's* Experience might be considered, which perhaps the House had done, had not Mrs. *Kirke* urged his Debauchery, and put them in mind of Prince *Maurice* his Deserts and Abilities, though he did not seem a Courtier. But then the Dutchess of *R—mond* assured them, That none was to be compared to Prince *Rupert*, against whom nothing could be urged, but that his ill Fortune, that his Labour wanted the designed and expected Fruit; but being cleared of that Imputation by Mrs. *Legge*, [who assured her, that that did altogether depend on his Companions in Arms, and not on him,] it was ordered, that my Lady *Aubigny* should be sent into *France* to desire him to receive the Command. That Mrs. *Camblin* for the Protestants, and Mrs. *Wibarne* for the Papists, be appointed Messengers to attend the House, and that they have the Title given them of Messengers of the Chamber.

The said Ladies in Parliament assembled, did declare, That by their first Vote of this Day, they did not in any wise intend to exclude from their Quarters, the Party of the House of Peers which voted the Bill of Maintenance of the Army out of their House, in that their said Ladyships are understood to be well affected, not Round-heads. Whilst these things were in agitation, in comes a Serjeant from the House of Ladies at Mrs. *Chipp's* Assembled, in the Name of
which

which he pronounced this an unlawful Assembly, a Juncto, a Mungril Parliament, commanding them to confine their Votes and Themselves to their own Houses, there to continue during pleasure, *Hide Park*, *St. James's Park*, *Spring Garden*, and *Kate's* notwithstanding.

This puts their Ladyships into great Disorder, and more Confusion, than if they had been taken with their Gallants by all, and each of their respective Husbands, which is the cause we have no more of this Parliament.

The Ladies well-affected, being [as you have heard] Assembled at their House in *Spring Garden*, spent sometime in choosing their Speaker, and the major part pitching upon the Lady *H—land*, she desired to excuse her self, alledging her Husband's Discretion, and further intreated, that all her Right might be conferred on my Lady *C—lisle*: But the said Lady not being fit to be trusted, being too open, the Lady *L—ster* was named; but it was objected by the Lady *Hippesley*, that the said Countess was a Delinquent, and had formerly carried Supplies to the King, pretending likewise that her Husband, [*viz.*] Sir *John Hippesley* was much damnified in his Estate and Office by the said Supplies. But the Lady *S—sbury* coming in, the Dispute was soon ended, and the Chair conferred upon her [*nemine contradicente,*] who immediately named Mrs. *Peel* Messenger, to attend the House; and the Lady *N—ton* and the Lady *S—leton* to be Door-keepers, with order to keep all out but Members. All this was assented unto, notwithstanding some Exceptions were taken to the slowness of Mrs. *Peel's* Pace; it being aggravated by one, that she went slower than the Matters of *Chancery* when they go on Messages. Then

Then their Ladyships taking into consideration the difficult Cases which might fall out in the business of their Houses. Ordered, That Mr. Doctor *Wetherborne* be sent for from *Holdenby*, and Doctor *Davison* from *Paris*, to be Assistants to the House. Ordered farther, That Dr. *H—ton* and Dr. *C—berlain* be also Assistants to the House, that so with greater Ease and Security their Ladyships may be help'd out with their most troublesome and pressing Affairs.

The House then adjourned to the Day following; and being met accordingly, the first business was to send the aforesaid Message to the unlawful Assembly at *Kate's*: Next falling upon their Votes, in particular, that part of the Order to be an absolute Breach of their Privilege, which forbids the Cavalleer's Entrance into the Round-head's Quarters; and accordingly ordered, That the said Cavalleers shall within two Days depart this City, and not come within 20 Miles of the Lines of Communication; and further voted, That no malignant Lady presume to walk in the *Spring-Garden* after Twelve of the Clock at Night, upon any pretence whatsoever.

Next, their Ladyships took into consideration the great Number of Delinquents, and ordered that there be a Committee for Compositions, to meet at the Lady *K—nts* for the Protestants, and for the Papists at the Lady *Lakes*.

This day a Complaint was brought against Sir *Henry Blunt* for publishing an heretical and dangerous Doctrine, [*viz.*] *That it is better to converse with, and resort to Common Women, than Ladies of Honour*: Upon mature deliberation whereof, the Ladies with much indignation sent for him; who being come, and hearing his Accusation

tion read, was commanded to withdraw. During the Debate, up starts the Lady *Foster*, and offers to the Consideration of the House, the dangerous Effects that this Opinion might produce, if it were suffered to be sowed amongst the People, to the utter decay of Trade, as also of the particular Commerce of Rhenish Wine in the Must, Tarts, Cheefe cakes, Sullibubs, &c. whereby the profit of the House will greatly be diminished. This Speech was receiv'd by a marvellous Applause of the whole House, and the said Sir *Henry Blunt* was called in the second time, who commanded to kneel, refused, alledging, The House was no lawful Judicature, but appeal'd to the Commons of *England* and *Wales*, which suspended all Proceedings therein for that time.

The House considered in the next place, That divers weak Persons have crept into Places beyond their Abilities; and to the End that Men of greater Parts may be put into their rooms, appointed the Lady *Middlesex*, Mrs. *Dunch*, the Lady *Foster*, and the Lady *Ann Waller*, by reason of their great Experience in the Soldiery of this Kingdom, to be a Committee for Tryers in this Kingdom.

The House being ready to adjourn, there was News of a Quarrel between two notorious Members of the said House, Mrs. *Harris* and Mrs. *Dunch*, and good Counsel was given them to unite against their Common Enemy, their Husbands; and it was at length ordered, That they should be reconciled, and *Tom Temple* should be desired to put up his Blade.

The Morning following, they took into consideration the many Garisons of the Kingdom that were to be kept, and which not. Ordered, That
Nor-

Northampton be continued in *Garison*, and that the *Lady S—land* be requested to take the Command thereof upon her, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance.

That an *English* *Garison* be put into *Carlisle*, to prevent Foreign Nations getting in possession thereof, as is to be feared, by reason of some secret Intelligence had by the *French* Ambassador in that place.

That *Leicester*, *Newport*, *Marleborough*, and all which, are either old or useless Fortifications, be forthwith slighted.

After this, they took into consideration the Standing Forces of this Kingdom, and their several Entertainments, and ordered the Lord *F—ces*, Mr. *S—by*, Mr. *R—ad*, and Mr. *T—ton*, have Pay allowed them, conditionally, that they be provided to draw forth upon Service at the least Warning.

That Collonel *C—ke*, Mr. *Henry H—ard*, and Mr. *N—il*, have free Quarter only.

That the Prince *Elektor*, Mr. *G—scocke*, and Prince *Griffith*, henceforth pay their Quarters.

Ordered by Addition of the First Vote, That Sir *John M—ley* be forthwith paid for his Service to this House, notwithstanding his Delinquency, but so, that if he shall break out any more, he shall be irrecoverably put into the Exception.

Ordered, That all such Forces as shall be disbanded, shall be sent for *Ireland*, or otherwise disposed of out of this Kingdom.

Their Ladyships were then informed, that a Message waited at the Door from the House of Commons, and Sir *Peter W—worth*, and Mr. *B—nton*, who brought it, being let in, they found it was for the Relief of maimed Soldiers. Their

Ladyships referr'd it to the Lady P—rough to be considered, what Relief was fit to be given them; to whom was joined Mrs. H—ard, [sometimes Maid of Honour,] she having purged her Malignancy.

This Day the House received divers Reports from the Committee of Complaints; and first, against the Prince *Electour*, who was accused that he was not secret to the Trust of this House, but bewraid them in their Service, and instead of doing their Business, did his own. The consideration of this Business was put off till another time; as also another Accusation against the said Prince, [viz.] That he hath deserted his Employment. Both brought in by the Lady B—rington.

The next was of some Articles brought in by *Britannicus* against Mrs. W—ler's holding Intelligence with the Enemy; which being found to be true, she was voted to be Laundress to the Prince *Electour's* Highness.

The Third was an Accusation against the Lord R—ch, by the Lady Mary C—kayne, alias C—llen, who pretended, she had been plundred of Jewels, and other Commodities, by the said Lord R—ch, to the value of 200 *l.* but it being alledged by the Lady W—wick, that it was done to one that had been a Commander against the Parliament; the Accusation was cast out. Then the House adjourned till the next Day.

The Business this Day was the Report from the Committee of Tryers, who named in the first place, the Right Honourable the Earl of D—gh to be a Man of extraordinary Parts and Abilities; whereupon it was ordered, that his Lordship be Commander in chief of all the Standing Forces of this Kingdom, and that his Head Quarters be in *Andover*,

dover, until the House have further need of his Service.

Ordered, That the Lord C—den in regard of his great Talent, have a favourable Composition at the Lady K—ts.

Ordered, That Seignior *Ambrosio*, a politick *Italian*, be had in Remembrance for his extraordinary Pains to content this House, and that when the Affairs of this Kingdom shall be settled, he be put into the *Dutchy-Office*; and in the mean time, because what he had before did not content him, he be satisfied out of Mrs. H—ll's Arrears, which are forfeited to the State for some petty Larcenies of hers.

This Business being over, up starts the zealous and well-affected Lady, the Lady M—may, and moved, That a publick Fast be appointed for imploring a Blessing upon Mens constant Affections to this House, as also to stop the contagious Infection and itching Humours now crept in amongst us, and likely to overspread us all, if not timely stopped.

The Motion was embraced, and Mr. O—aston [sometime Prebend of *Peter's, Westminster*,] together with Doctor S—ald's, Pastor of *Jame's Clerkenwell*, mentioned to preach before the House: But one *Cornelius* brought an Accusation against the Doctor aforesaid, for one ill-affected to the present Government, he having preached lately in his House in a Tub: Whereupon he was rejected, and the Lady K—sington desired, that Mr. S—marsh might be substituted in his Turn, of whose great Parts and able Performances she had long Experience: Which was assented to accordingly.

Their Ladyships in the next place, taking into consideration the great Decay of Cattel, and other Beasts in this Kingdom during these unnatural Wars, thought the fittest Means for a Remedy, to be their Ladyships sending [as they did] to the House of Commons, to intreat them, that some of their Members might join with their Ladyships to consider of the said Business. They forthwith named the Lady G—y, and the House of Commons the Lord G—y her Husband, to be a Committee to debate, and consider the fittest Means to multiply and recruit the said Beasts, to whom they gave these following Instructions.

That they shall intreat all, or most of the *M—lys* in *England*, and all other Men of that Shape, to marry. That all such Men as have vowed [whether Prisoners, or Free-men,] never to cut their Beards till his Majesty comes to *London* to be encouraged therein.

That Monsieur *Sabran* be intreated, and the Name of the House be used therein, to return to his Concubine here, notwithstanding his Wife be at *Geneva*; for that *Geneva* hath not the same urgent necessity of multiplying Beasts as this Island hath.

The House then took into consideration the Sale of Delinquents Estates; and ordered, That Mr. *H—ington* for his faithful Service done the House, have the Earl of *N—astle's* Baggage, as also the Lady *D—hire* have *Worcester house*; [notwithstanding the Vote of the Houses at *Westminster* in favour of the Earl of *S—ury*,] that so her Ladyship may be present with less Trouble at her many and serious Negotiations with the *Scotch Commissioners*.

This

This Day was presented a Petition from the Lady S—hop, humbly desiring, That she might be received into their House, pretending, she was well-affected, was true ; but that a *Scotch Affection* mix'd with a *French*, could never make a well-affected Lady. It was further urged, that the said Lady had been in Arms under Collonel S—gsby, who was ordered to be kept up by this House. The Debate was put off till another time.

A Motion was made for the putting down of Plays ; whereupon the Lady M—mouth stood up, and desired, that it might be explained what Plays ; forasmuch as if they should put down *Inn* and *Inn*, it might prove much to the prejudice of the House, as also to Mr. Y—ng, who had deserved well of her Ladyship : But Answer being made, Stage-plays were only understood. She declared, she would concur with the House now Sir *John S—ling* was dead ; but truly she lik'd his Plays well.

It was then moved by the Lady C—mpton, that a Thanksgiving Day might be appointed for the Recovery of the Earl of P—oke, which was consented to ; and Mr. C—decott desired to Preach, and to sing the Psalm in *English*, and not in *Hebrew*.

Ordered, That Thanks be given to Mr. R—inson for his zealous and devout Prayer, that the said Lord might once more climb up *May hill*.

The House then appointed Commissioners to go to his Majesty, [*viz.*] The Ladies of O—rd, and S—ford, together with the Lady M—y, to move his Majesty's haste, and gain the Royal Assent, that so Happy a Union may follow.

This Day also, they pass'd an *Act of Oblivion* to the Lady D—*keith*, the Lady Katherine S—*tt*, the Lady A—*bigny*, and Mrs. R—*per* for their Delinquency in the Enemy's Quarters.

Soon after, the Lady N—*tan*, Door-keeper of this House, complained of Sir Robert H—*low*, a Member of the House of Commons, for attempting to deface her : Which hapned thus ; The said Lady being a zealous *Independent*, and so one of the Saints, and Sir Robert having found out that she was likewise Painted, he pretended that she came within his Ordinance of Idolatry, Saints painted, Crosses, &c. But some Friends of the said Door-keeper's urging on her behalf, that none did ever yet attempt to adore or worship her, she was justified : And the Ladies hereupon declared, That if any Person, by virtue of any Power whatsoever, pretend to be derived from the House of Commons, or any other Court, shall go about to impeach, hinder, or disturb any Lady from Painting, Washing, or Adorning her self to her best advantage, as also from Painting of Hair, and Investing of Teeth, that that Act is a great Breach of the Privilege of the House, and that the Offenders shall be proceeded against accordingly.

In the last place, their Ladyships being to adjourn for some Weeks, desired, That first a main Point of Divinity might be decided : What is meant by the words *Due Benevolence* in the N—*w* T—*—nt* ; and in order thereunto, they sent unto the Ministers of the Assembly, intreating to make some Declaration concerning the same. The Messengers found the Assembly busie about their Affairs, endeavouring to bring the Text, *Kiss the Son lest he be angry*, to prove *Presbytery* ; yet under-

understanding their Ladyships Request, they left it presently, and fell upon the Debate of the said *Due Benevolence*, which I do not intend to set down particularly, it being not to be found in the Ladies Journal: Only I hear, that Mr. *Obadiah S—wick's* Opinion was, That if a Man had been absent from his House any time, that then the Conjugal Duty obliged him to solace her now, and anon too, that is to say, twice within the compass of a natural Day. But it being adjudg'd, that no Rule can be observed, for that depended upon Mens natural Constitutions, and Health; it was declared by them, That all, and every Man coupled in Bond of Matrimony and Wedlock, is engaged to comfort his Mate and Fellow-feeler, as often as his Strength and Constitution of Body will possibly permit.

Their Ladyships having received the Definition desired them, to make it *Jure Divino*, and to publish it, for that so no Husband in the Country may pretend ignorance: Whereupon their Holinesses made this ensuing Canon.

Die Jovis 25 Martii, 1647.

IT is by these Presents declared and decreed to all the World, by the Council called and met at Westminster in the Kingdom of Great Britain, That all Men, who have, or shall take upon them the State of Matrimony, are by their Vows and Sense of H—y W—r, obliged to comfort, visit, and comply with Wives, as often as their Strength of Body will permit and give them leave; and tho' they should pretend it stands not with their Business, that they be thereunto obliged notwithstanding.

This we enjoin and command, under Penalty of being debarred the S—t, of which we hope to have the monopoly.

The Day following, in the Evening this Doctrine being brought to their Ladyships, they ordered, That the Speaker of their House should give Thanks to the said Ministers of the Assembly of D—vines, for their great Care and Pains in Reforming this Kingdom, and in particular for this present Declaration. After which, they ordered these their Votes to be printed; and so Adjourned till further time.

*The APOLOGY of the Duke of
LAUDERDAILE.*

IT is a hard Task to satisfy [even Friends,] against the Slanders which Ignorance or Malice may easily throw upon the greatest Innocence; and although I hear that I have had a large share of the Persecution of Tongues in and about *London*, in *Coffee-Houses*, and elsewhere, these divers Months past, yet I shall not endeavour at this time, so much as to satisfy my Friends in all the Particulars I hear, which, I hope, I shall be able to do in good time, and so clearly, that I may easily undeceive all sober and unbiassed Men: But one thing, I hear, is talk'd, and of so horrid a Nature, and yet so groundless, so impudently false, and so easily disproved, that I cannot forbear a moment to demonstrate my Innocence to my Friends: I hear it hath been said at *London*, that I was a great cause and promoter

ter of the late King's Murther, bringing up a Declaration from *Scotland*, which was made the ground upon which they proceeded to the Murther, and that I was one that had furthered that Horrid Act. This is so monstrously false and so groundless, that I need say little to my Justification; for it is well known to the King, and many thousands, how faithfully and how diligently I served the last King all that Year 1648, and what my Persecutions and my Sufferings were from the King's Enemies, both in *England* and in *Scotland*, from that Year even to his Majesty's happy Restauration: Yet it shall not be enough for me to prove, that that Accusation is false; I undertake to demonstrate, that is utterly impossible.

I waited upon the last King at *Carisbrooke Castle* in the Isle of *Wight*, with *William Duke of Hamilton* [then Earl of *Lanerick*,] and the late Earl of *Lowdon*, [then Chancellor of *Scotland*,] we carried a Protestation in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland* against the Four Bills, which were at that time imposed upon the King by the Two Houses of Parliament. We did then at *Caresbrooke Castle*, receive the King's Commands for engaging *Scotland*, and raising of an Army for his Delivery and Restitution. We came thence to *London*; and in *January* 1647, [according to the Account of *England*,] we parted from *London* towards *Scotland*, where we arrived in the beginning of that *February*: Now if ever I saw *London*, or any Place near it, from that *January* 1647, [according to the Account of *England*,] until the Second of *October* 1651, on which day I was brought a Prisoner to the *Tower* after *Worcester*, then I do willingly submit to the
 Infamy,

Infamy, Guilt, and Punishment due to the Accusation, which should be more bitter to me than the cruellest Death, and Attainder of me and my Family. This, I hope, proves the utter Impossibility of my bringing up such a Declaration.

My next Task must be to demonstrate as great and absolute an Impossibility of my having any Accession to such a Declaration in *Scotland*, [if any was made and sent to the Rebels in *England*:] I came to *Scotland* [as I told you,] in *February* 1647. there we began the late King's Service, the engaging *Scotland* for him, and the raising of an Army; but very soon we found the Opposition of them, who called themselves the *Kirk* Party. The Earl of *Lowdon*, then Chancellor, abandoned us, and join'd with that Party; yet *William* Duke of *Hamilton* [then Earl of *Lanerick*,] and I, carried on the Business.

The late King of Blessed Memory, commanded Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and Sir *William Blackston*, to Correspond with, and take Measures from the Earl of *Lanerick* and me; and we corresponded with them constantly under the Names of *John Read* and *William Black*. This Sir *Philip Musgrave* can testify, as also *Arthur Barclay* yet alive, and now a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, who was constantly a Messenger between us.

Most of the Nobility and Gentry joined heartily in the Engagement, and so did the People, in spite of all the Thunderings of all the Pulpits against us; and the Army drew to a Rendezvous in *July*; and then was I commanded by all that was in Power, both in *Edinburgh*, and the Army, to go to *Holland* to invite his Majesty that now is, [then Prince,] to come and command the Army

my that was raised for his Father's Service. I Embarked on the 4th of *August* 1648, and waited upon his Majesty in the *Downes*, where he then commanded his Father's Fleet. There we got the News of the Fatal Defeat of the *Scotch* Army under *James* Duke of *Hamilton*. I stay'd with the King about three Weeks in the Fleet, and then waited upon him all that Year. That Winter the King design'd to send me into *Scotland*, for his Service again. I procured a Pass from them in Power in *Scotland*, to come to *Scotland*, upon pretence of settling private Business, and to remove out of it again. As soon as my Pass came, the King sent me at *Christmas* into *Scotland* with Instructions, which none knew but his Majesty and the late Prince of *Orange*, who gave a Man of War which transported me thither. As soon as I Landed, I found that those who after the Defeat of the Army, had usurped the Power, and then proceeded with great Violence against all those who were joined in the Engagement, and most particularly against my self. I found that *William* Duke of *Hamilton* [then Earl of *Lanrick*,] was confined to his House; and that both he and I, with many other Persons of Quality, were turned out of all Employments, and declared incapable of all Publick Trust, and that I had been Fined, and my Tenants Ruined; yet trusting to my Pass, I went to *Edinburgh*, where some of my Friends saw me; but I was very far from being either willing or able to meddle with any Judicature. I spoke with the Duke of *Hamilton*, and at my Return, I found that *Scotland* would quickly be too hot either for him or me: For the Rebels in *London* having heard from *Holland*, that I was sent in a Man of War to *Scotland*; they presently

presently took jealousy, and dispatch'd one Roe to their Friends in *Scotland*, to demand the then Earl of *Lanerick* and me to be delivered to them; As soon as these Letters came to *Edinburgh*, a private Committee was called; and though the Earl of *Cassel*, and Lord *Balmerinoch*, [both dead,] did plead the Faith that they had given to me in their Pass; yet they perfidiously resolved to have delivered me; but the Lord *Balmerinoch* gave me timely Warning: So I fled in the Night for my Life, and I brought away my Lord of *Lanerick* out of his Restraint; and so both of us went Aboard of my Ship, and sailed to *Holland*. From the *Low Countries*, we stirr'd not until we waited on his Majesty in *June* 1650. What Declarations were made in *Scotland*, or sent to the Rebels in *London*, for countenancing the late King's horrid Murther, or whether any such was or no, I cannot determine; nor is it my Business to justify those that were then in Power, [who, I am sure, were my Persecutors and Enemies;] but, I am sure, I have demonstrated, that as it was utterly impossible that I could have been the Carrier of such a Declaration from *Scotland*; so it is impossible that I could have had the least hand in carrying any such Declaration: And if I saw *Scotland* from the 4th of *August* 1648, until *June* 1650, [excepting those few Days when the King sent me thither, and from whence I fled for my Life,] I shall acknowledge the Guilt; or if ever I medled in any Judicature of *Scotland*, Civil or Ecclesiastick, from the 4th of *August* 1648, till after the King was Crowned in *Scotland*, then let me suffer any Punishment.

The P A T E N T of Creation of Thomas
Howard, Earl of Surrey, Duke of Nor-
folk. 5 H. 8.

R E X omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Cum
boni principis & Reipub. studiosi officium
imprimis esse arbitremur, ut vivi strenui,
ac optime de se, Reque publica meriti
[quorum virtute, praeclarisque facinoribus non scep-
tri Solum Gloria, & dignitas, sed comes subditar.
fortune, salus, vita, Divina Denique, & Humana
omnia Conservantur,] muneribus ornentur, hono-
ribus Extollantur, cumulatisque premiis honesten-
tur, tum ut virtuti sua gratia referatur, tum vero
ut quam plurimi generosa animo pediti [hujus mo-
di exceptis quasi stimulis incitati] eadem via ad
paras virtutis fructus prevenire vitantur, proinde
Illustrissimum Thomam commitatem Surrie consan-
guinorum charissimum, ac commitatem Marechal-
lum Angli & Thesaurarium Angliae Larganareum
Liberalitatis remunerationem cum primis promeri-
tam judicamus, qui trajiciebatur à nobis ad Bellum
versus Gallos pro scia Romanae Ecclesiae Defen-
sione, & nostri Furis Receptione susceptum tuen-
dum Boreali hujus Regni nostri plage à nobis per-
fect? Dum nos in Gallia Bellum gereremus. Ja-
cobum Scotorum Regem affinitatis, amicitiesque vin-
culo, ac sanctissimo [quod nobiscum habebat] federe
violato, cum numerosissima hominum multitudine in
dictum Regnum nostrum hostiliter irrumpentem, ac
omnia igneque ferro crudeliter vastantem, ducto
in eum Exercitu, ac signis iniquo etiam loco secum
Collatis apud Brankston in Comit' nostro Nor-
thumber,

thumber divina ope, & ingenti sua virtute, egregiaque Fidelium nostrorum. Opera profligavit, ipsam Regem Scotorum, cum maxima procerum, ac Nobilium suorum parte trucidavit, injuriamque nobis, & eidem nostro Regno illatam cum celebri fami, & Gloria vindicavit. Quocirca ut plurimis ejusdem Thomæ meritis equa premia rependamus, sciatis, quod nos de gratia nostra spiritali, ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostris præfatum Thomam consanguineum nostrum in Ducem Norfolciæ Erigimus, Creamus, Insignimus, Præficiamus, & Ordinamus, ac Nomen, Titulum, Statum, Stylum, Locum, Sedem, Preminentiam, Honorem, Authoritatem, & Dignitatem Ducis Norfolciæ in tam amplis altioribus, & honorificis modo, & forma, prout aliquis Dux Norff^{us} præantea unquam habuit usus, aut gavisus fuit, eidem consanguineo nostro damus, & concedimus per presentes. Ac eum de eodem nomine cum altiori, & Honorificio Titulo, Statu, Stilo, Sede, Loco, Honore, Authoritate, Preminetia, & Dignitate, quibus aliqua persona existens Dux Norff^{us} per antea unquam habuit usus, seu gavisus fuit, ceterisque honoribus eidem appendent, & annexum per Gladii Cincturam, Cappe, & Circuli Aurei impositionem in Capite ac Traditionem Virgæ, Aurea realiter investimus. Habend^{um} & Tenend^{um} nomen, Stylum, Titulum, Sedem, Locum, Honorem, Authoritatem, & Dignitatem Ducis Norff^{us} Præfat. Thomæ Duci, & heredibus Masculis de corpore suo exeunt, in per petm^{um}, &c. Et ut illo victoria in posterum beatur in memoria, & cunctis videatur, illam perpetratam fuisse conductione, Regimine, & Gubernacome dicti consanguinei nostri de uberiori gratia nostra damus, & Concedimus Præfat^{um} Duci, & heredibus suis temporibus futuris in principium:

in

in signum illius Victorii, quod ipse Dux, & Heredes sui predicti portent, aut gerant in medio Bende Armorum proprii nominis Præfat'. Ducis [viz.] Scuto de Howard integran Medietatem superioris partis Leonis Sagita preconfessi, Depictatque rellis Coloribus Armorum, Regni Scotiæ, quæ dictus idem Jacobus nuper Rex Scotorum portavit, Habend', Tenend', dictam medietatem partis Leonis Rubei Sagitta ore Confessi, depictatque modo, & Figura predictis Præfat' Duci, & Heredibus suis predictis imprim', &c.

An Act concerning the Title, Name, and Dignity of the Earl of Arundell, and for the annexing of the Castle, Honour, and Mannor and Lordship of Arundell in the County of Suffex, with the Titles and Dignities of the Baronies of Fitz Allen, Clun, and Oswaldestre and Maltravers, and divers other Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, hereafter in this Act mentioned, being now Parcel of the Possessions of Thomas Earl of Arundell and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England to the said Title, Name, and Dignity of the Earl of Arundell.

IN all humble wise sheweth, &c. Thomas Earl of Arundell, &c. That whereas the Title, Name, and Dignity of Earl of Arundell is, and from the time whereof the Memory of Man is not to the contrary, hath been Real and Local, and, &c. enjoined by himself, and such

such of the Ancestors of the said Earl as have enjoyed the Inheritance of the Castle, Lordship and Honour of *Arundell*, &c. and by reason of the Inheritance and Sefin of the said Castle, Honour, &c. The said Earl and his Ancestors, &c. have been Earls of *Arundell*, &c. and thereby had their Places in your Majesty's Parliament and Council, and elsewhere as Earls of *Arundell*.

And whereas the large Revenues that were in former Times were wont to support the said Title, Name, &c. have in the latter Ages been dismembred, and diminished by divers and sundry Alienations, &c. and in future Times may be much more lessened, if some Prevention be not thereof had, which no way so well be had, as by annexing as well of the said Castle, Honour, and Lordship, as also divers others of the Baronies, Lordships, &c. of the said Earl herein mentioned, to be annexed to the said Title, Name, and Dignity of Earl of *Arundell* in such sort, as that hereafter the said Castle, Honour, and Lordship, and other the Baronies, Lands, Tenements, &c. may continually remain to those of the Blood of the said Earl that shall be hereafter, as aforesaid, have, use, and enjoy the Title and Dignity of Earl of *Arundell*, that so they may the better support the said Titles, Names and Dignities, and be the more able to serve your most Excellent Majesty, your Heirs and Successors in their Estates and Quality; He most humbly beseecheth Your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be, &c. Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Title, Name, and Dignity of Earl of *Arundell*, and Castle, Honour, and Lordship of *Arundell*, and Baronies hereafter ensuing, that is to say, the said Titles, Names, and Dignities of Lord Fitz
Allen,

Allen, Clun, and Oswaldestre, and Lord Maltravers, and all Places, Preheminences, Arms, Ensigns, and Dignities to the said Earldom, Castle, Honour, and Baronies belonging, and the Borough and the Mannor of Arundell aforesaid, &c. and the Forest of Arundell, &c. and the two Parks, &c. to the said Castle and Mannor, &c. belonging, &c. [with divers other Lands in the Counties of Sussex, Surrey, and Hampshire,] Arundell House in the County of Middlesex, &c. may and shall be for ever by virtue of this Act, &c. be and remain, &c. to him the said Thomas Earl of Arundell and Surrey; and Heirs Males of his Body lawfully begotten, &c. and for default of such Issue, &c. then to the Heirs of the Body of the said Earl lawfully begotten, &c. and for default of such Issue, then to the Right Honourable the Lord William Howard, Uncle to the said Earl, [Son of Thomas late Duke of Norfolk,] and the Heirs Male of the Body of the said Lord William, &c. and for default of such Issue to the said Thomas Earl of Arundell, and Surrey, and his Heirs for ever.

A Copy of a Commission of General, granted by King Charles the Second, Aug. 3. 1660. to George Duke of Albemarle, &c.

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c. To our right Trusty, and right Well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, George Duke of Albemarle, Master of our Horse, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, greeting. Know ye, that

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we reposing special Trust and Confidence in your approved Wisdom, Fidelity, Valour, and great Abilities, have assigned, made, constituted, and ordained, and by these our Letters Patents, do assign, make, constitute, and ordain you to be our Captain General of all our Armies and Land-Forces, and Men whatsoever now levied or raised, or which hereafter shall be raised or levied in or out of our Realms of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, or any of them, or any other our Dominions and Territories whatsoever, and Assembled, or to be Assembled into an Army, or Armies, with them, both to resist and withstand all Invasions, Tumults, Seditions, Conspiracies, and Attempts, that may happen within our said Realms, Dominions, and Territories, or any of them, to be made against our Person, State, Safety, Crown and Dignity, and to be led into of our said Realms, Dominions, and Territories, or any of them, and there to invade, assault, repel, resist, fight with, subdue, slay, and kill all, every, or any Enemies or Rebels against us of what Nation soever, that in our said Kingdoms, Dominions, Territories, or any of them, or any Part, or Parts thereof, shall raise, make, cause adhere to, or be part of any Insurrection, Commotion, Tumult, Sedition, Conspiracy, or Attempt whatsoever against our Person, State, Crown and Dignity. And we further have assigned, made, constituted, and ordained, and by these our Letters Patents, do assign, make, constitute, and ordain you the said Armies and Land-Forces, and every part thereof; and all Officers, and others whatsoever employed, or to be employed in or concerning the same, with all such other Forces of what Nation soever as shall be hereafter
 joined

joined to the said Armies and Land Forces, or any part thereof, to rule, govern, command, dispose, and imploy in: For, or about such Defences, Offences, Invasions, Executions, and other Military and Hostile Acts and Services, as are and shall be by us from time to time, and at any time respectively directed, limited, or appointed in, or by these our Letters Patents, or by our Instructions which we have delivered unto you under our Sign Manual, or which shall be hereafter directed, limited, or appointed by any Instructions under our Sign Manual, Signet, Privy Seal, or Great Seal delivered, or to be delivered unto you, or sent and received, or to be sent and received by you. And further, we have given and granted unto you full Power and Authority, and hereby do give and grant unto you full Power and Authority the same Armies and Land Forces, and every, or any part thereof, and the Men so levied, raised, or assembled, or to be levied or assembled, or sent, conducted, or brought, or that otherwise shall come to you, either by any other special Order or Command, or by any other Commission whatsoever given, and granted by us, or by Authority of this Commission, and according to the intent thereof as aforesaid by your self, or by your Deputy, or Deputies, Commanders, Captains, or other Officer or Officers, as to you shall seem meet, to try, exercise, array, and put in readiness, and them, and every of them, after their Abilities, Degrees, and Faculties, or according to the Provision of Arms appointed for them, well and sufficiently to cause to be weaponed and armed, and to take, or cause to be taken, the Musters of them by the Commissary General, or other Commissaries, or Officers, whom you shall assign as

often as you see cause, as also of any of our Train-
 ed Bands within our said Kingdoms, Dominions,
 and Territories, or any of them, and in all, and
 every other place, and Places, into which by vir-
 tue of this our Commission, or by virtue of any
 other Commission, or Warrant from us, you shall
 lead or send, or in which you shall, according to
 the purport of this Commission, find any part of
 the said Army, or Armies, or Men, as aforesaid :
 And also the said Army, or Armies, Men, and Per-
 sons so Arrayed, Tried, Exercised, and Armed, as
 well Horsemen as Footmen of all Kinds and De-
 grees to Govern, Lead, and Conduct against all,
 and singular Enemies, Rebels, Traytors, and all
 and every other Person or Persons attempting any
 thing against our Person, State, Safety, Crown,
 and Dignity, within our said Kingdoms, Domini-
 ons, and Territories, every, or any of them : And
 our said Armies and Land-Forces, and the Men a-
 foresaid from time to time, and at any time to di-
 vide, distribute, and dispose into Parts, Regiments,
 Troops, and Companies, or otherwise at your dis-
 cretion : And the same Army, or Armies, and
 the said Parts, Regiments, Troops, or Companies,
 or any of them, to convey, or send, or cause to be
 conveyed, or sent by Land, or by Sea, or other
 Passage by Letter to any Place, or Places, for the
 Service aforesaid, respectfully, according to your
 direction ; and with the said Enemies, Rebels,
 Traytors, and other Person, or Persons, so attempt-
 ing as aforesaid, to fight, and them to invade, re-
 sist, repress, pursue, and follow in, and unto any
 part of our said Kingdoms, Dominions, and Ter-
 ritories, every, or any of them, and them to sub-
 due, slay, and kill, and to do, fulfil, and execute
 all, and singular other Acts, Matters, and Things
 what-

whatsoever respectively, which shall be in your Discretion requisite, either by Leading, Conducting, Government, Order, and Rule of our said Armies and Land-Forces, and Men, and every Part of them, or for the conservation of Us, our State, and Safety, and for the suppression and subduing of our Enemies, Rebels, Traytors, or other Offenders, as aforesaid: And further, to do, use, and execute against, and upon the said Enemies, Rebels, Traitors, and others, as aforesaid, and their Adherents, and every of them, as occasion shall require by your Direction, the Law Martial, or Law Marshal, as our Captain General: And of such Enemies, Rebels, Traytors, and other Offenders, as aforesaid taken, or apprehended, or being brought into subjection, to save from Death, or other Punishment, whom you shall think good to be so saved, and to slay, destroy, and put to execution of Death, or otherwise to punish such, or so many of them, as you shall think meet by your discretion to be put to Death, or otherwise punished respectively by any manner of Means, according to the Law Martial, or Law Marshal, to the terror of all other Offenders. And we do further, by these our Letters Patent, give and grant to you our Captain General, full Power and Authority for us, and in our Name, as occasion shall require, according to your discretion, by publick Proclamation, or otherwise, to make tender of our Royal Grace, Mercy, and Pardon, to all such Enemies, Rebels, or Traytors, as shall in our said Kingdoms, Dominions, and Territories, or any of them, submit themselves to us, and desire to be received to our Grace, Mercy, and Pardon, and according to your discretion, to receive to our Grace, and Mercy, and to pardon all, and every

such Person, and Persons, as shall so submit, and desire to be received to our Grace, Mercy, and Pardon, as aforesaid. And we do hereby grant, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, that every such Person, and Persons, so submitting, and desiring, and so admitted by you unto our Grace and Mercy, and pardoned by you as aforesaid, shall be by us pardoned, and shall, and may have, and sue out Pardons accordingly. And further, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, we do give and grant you full Power and Authority, that in case any Invasion of Enemies, Insurrection, Commotion, or Rebellion, shall happen to be, increase, or begin to arise within our said Kingdoms, Dominions, and Territories, or any of them, that then from time to time, and at all times, when any such shall be, increase, or begin to arise, you may with such Power and Forces, as you shall think fit, either by your self, or by others deputed, or commanded by you, resist, repress, and reform the same by Battel, or any kind of Force, or at your discretion by such other Proceedings as by the Laws of our said Realms respectively, or the Law Martial, or Laws Marshal, or by the intent or purport of this Commission may otherwise be used: And for the better execution of this our Commission, we do further give, and grant to you full Power and Authority from time to time, and at all times at your discretion, to command, and require of, and from all, or any of our Lieutenants special, and their Deputy Lieutenants of our several Counties of and within our said Kingdoms, Dominions, and Territories, and of or from every or any of them, to send to you, or to such place or places as you shall appoint, such numbers of Able men for the Wars, as well Horse-

men

men and Footmen of the Trained Bands in the said Counties respectively, or others sufficiently armed and furnished at such time, and times, and from time to time, as you in your discretion shall appoint, and require: And further, Also from time to time, and at all times at your discretion to give and grant to any Person, or Persons, as to you it shall seem meet, any Commission, or Commissions, Warrant, and Authority, for the levying and raising of any Troops or Companies of any Horse-men or Foot-men in any place whatsoever within our said Kingdoms, Dominions, and Territories, or any of them, or for the bringing or conducting of them to you, or to such Place or Places as you shall from time to time, or at any time in your discretion assign and appoint. And further also, we do give and grant to you our Captain General, full Power and Authority from time to time, and at all times, by Writing, under your Hand and Seal, to appoint, ordain, and constitute one, or more Deputy or Deputies, of what Quality or Condition whatsoever, or by what Name or Names soever you shall think fit, under you, and in your stead to do, and execute all, or any the Powers and Authority whatsoever, by these Presents granted by us unto you. And also, We give you full Power and Authority, to appoint all, and every, or any superiour Officer, or Officers, or Officer or Officer in chief, of what Quality or Dignity soever, respectively as well of the Horse-men as of Foot-men, and of the Ordinance, Artillery, or Ammunition of, or belonging to, or that shall hereafter in any wise belong to the said Army or Armies, or Land-Forces; and all and every Collonel, Captain, and other inferiour Officers, and all and

every other Commander and Commanders, Officer and Officers whatsoever, which shall by you at any time, and from time to time be thought fit or requisite for the better government of the said Army or Armies, or Land Forces, or any part thereof, and for the execution of the intent and purport of these our Letters Patents. And further, We do give and grant unto you full Power and Authority to appoint within our said Army or Armies, one Provost Marshal, or more Provost Marshals according to your discretion, to use, and exercise that Office in such cases as you shall think requisite, and for the execution of the Law Martial, or Law Marshal, according to your discretion, and Warrant given to him, or them, and the intent and purport of these our Letters Patents, and as the Law Martial, or Law Marshal requireth. And further, We do give and grant to you full Power and Authority, to hold, or cause to be held within the said Army or Armies, or any part thereof, one, or more Military, or Martial, or Marshal Court or Courts, from time to time, and and at all times, according to your Discretion or Command; and also, in the same Court or Courts, or otherwise, by your self, or by your Deputy or Deputies, or by or in your Council of War, or by any other Ways, or Proceedings, or Course, as to you shall seem meetest, to hear, examine, determine, and punish all Mutinies, Disobediences, Departures from Captains, Commanders and Governours, and all capital and criminal Offences whatsoever. And we further give and grant to all, and every such Deputy or Deputies, superiour Officer and Officers, and Officers and Officer in Chief, and all and every other Commander or Officer, so as aforesaid by you appointed, ordained,

dained, or constituted, or otherwise according to
 the purport and intent of these Presents, appointed,
 ordained, or constituted full Power and Authority
 to do and execute whatsoever he or they respectively
 shall be by you so ordained, or appointed, to do
 according to the Tenour of these Presents: And also,
 We give and grant unto you full Power and Authority
 at your discretion from time to time, and at all times,
 to make, constitute, and ordain Laws, Statutes,
 Ordinances, for the Government, ordering, ruling,
 and Military Discipline of our said Army and Armies,
 and every, or any part thereof, and of all and every
 Officer, and Officers, Person and Persons, of, in, and
 belonging to the same, and for touching, and concerning
 all and every the Prisoners, Goods, Booty, or Spoil,
 that shall or may happen to be at any time by you;
 or any Officer, or any other Person of the said Army,
 or Armies, or any part thereof taken, and concerning
 all other Matters whatsoever in any wise to the said
 Army, or this your Employment belonging to the same
 Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and every of them, to cause
 to be proclaimed in such Places, and at such Times
 as to you shall seem meet, and the same, and every
 of them, to put in execution, and to appoint and
 ordain such Pains and Penalties, either by loss of Life,
 or Member, Place, Office, Money, or Goods, or otherwise
 in the said Laws, Ordinances and Statutes, and every,
 or any of them, as in your discretion you shall think
 meet, and to cause to be attached, apprehended, and
 imprisoned, or pardoned, or left, or set at liberty
 at your discretion, all, and every, or any Person
 or Persons offending against any of the said Statutes,
 Laws, and Ordinances, and against, or con-

concerning such Person or Persons to command such Proceedings, and to use such Justice, or such Mercy, as to you shall seem most meet. And we do hereby grant and ordain, that all and every the Statutes, Laws and Ordinances, so from time to time, and at any time to be made, constituted, or ordained by you, shall have full power, and force, and remain, and be in the said Army and Armies, and every part thereof respectively in full power and force, according as you shall make, constitute, or ordain: And further, that you shall have from time to time, and at all times, during the Force of this our Commission, power to Pardon, and remit all and every Crimes and Offences whatsoever, committed against the said Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances, or any of them, or against the Laws Martial, and Law Marshal in the said Army, or any part thereof, or by any Officer, Soldier, or other, being part thereof, or belonging thereunto. And we further, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, do grant by these our Letters Pattents, that no Person or Persons whatsoever, shall be proceeded against, molested, sued, or in any wise impeached, in any Court whatsoever, or otherwise for any Crime or Offence whatsoever, so as aforesaid by you pardoned or remitted, nor sued, impeached, or molested in any Court whatsoever, for, or by reason of any Matter or Cause whatsoever, being finally determined and sentenced according to the Power and Jurisdiction by these Presents given, and granted by us as aforesaid. And further, We give and grant unto you Power, Liberty, and Authority upon all occasions, when to you it shall seem meet and necessary, if you be

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not by us otherwise expressely commanded to come, and repair to our Person wheresoever we shall be, and there, or at, in, near, or about our Court and Household, to remain until we shall signifie to you our expresse Pleasure for your Departure or Return. And further also, We give and grant to you full Power and Authority from time to time, and at all times, to appoint and constitute one or more Commissary or Commissaries, and any other Officer or Officers, as to you shall seem meetest, for the providing and taking up of Vi-ctuals, and all, or any other Provision for the said Army or Armies, or any part thereof, and to give him or them respectively Power and Warrant, so to do from time to time, and at all times within any part of our said Kingdoms, Dominions, and Territories, or any part of them: And further also, by your self, and others deputed or authorized by you, to take up, and use such Carriages, Horses, Boats, or other Vessels, as in your discretion, and as often as you shall think meet, shall be needful for the conveying, or conducting of the said Army or Armies, or any part thereof, or for bringing or carrying Ammunition, Ordnance, Artillery, Vi-ctuals, and all, or any other Provisions necessary or requisite for the said Army or Armies, or any part thereof, to or from any Place or Places, according to the intent of these Presents, and to that intent and purpose to Depute and Authorize, and to give Warrant or Warrants to any Person or Persons whatsoever, for such taking up, and use as aforesaid: And further, from time to time to give Warrant and Authority to our Treasurer or Treasurers of the said Army or Armies for the time being, for the issuing and paying of all, and every such Sums
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of Money, as are or shall be from time to time payable to any Person or Persons whatsoever, in the said Army or Armies, or any Part thereof, or due to any Person or Persons whatsoever, by reason of the same respectfully. And we do further hereby give Power and Authority to you our Captain General, for Causes especial, moving you by your Letters under your Seal from time to time, when, and as often as to you it shall seem meet, to grant Safe conduct, as well general as special, in all Places, by Land or Water, to any Person or Persons whatsoever, and generally to do, and execute all and every thing and things, which to the Office of a Captain General of an Army under us, doth belong, and which for the good and safety of Us, our State, and the Government, and Discipline of our said Army, shall be by you thought expedient and necessary. And for the better execution of this our Service, We do further give unto you our Captain General, full Power and Authority, as you in your discretion shall think meet; and for the Advancement of this our Service, to command all our Garisons, our Forts, and Castles, now fortified, or hereafter to be fortified, and to amove, displace, or continue the Governours, Captains, or other inferiour Officers, Soldiers, and Garisons, as to your discretion shall seem meet, and the occasion of the Service shall require, and to furnish the same Garisons, Castles and Forts, with other Governours, Commanders, and Soldiers, as you shall think meet, for the safety and good of our Armies, and the Advancement of our Service; to have, hold, exercise, and enjoy All, and every the Powers and Authorities aforesaid, by you our said Captain General, and by your Deputy and
Deputies

Deputies as aforefaid, during our Will and Plea-
 fure. And we Will and Command you our Cap-
 tain General, that with all fpeed you do execute
 the Premifes with effect. Wherefore we Will
 and Command all, and fingular Lieutenants of
 our Counties, and Lieutenants fpecial, Dukes,
 Marqueffes, Earls, Vifcounts, Barons, Baronets,
 Knights, Sheriffs, Treafurer, Treafurers of our
 faid Army, Mayors, Bailiffs, Conftables, Cap-
 tains, and all other Officers, and Soldiers, Mini-
 fters, and all and every our loving Subjects of
 what Eftate, Degree, or Condition foever, he or
 they fhall be, that they, and every of them re-
 fpectively, with their Power, and Servants, from
 time to time, and according as they fhall be com-
 manded by you, or authorized, according to the
 purport and intent of thefe our Letters Patents,
 and the Authority and Power to you herein given,
 be obedient to you, and attendant, aiding, affift-
 ing, counselling, and helping you, and ready at
 your Commandment in the due Execution here-
 of, as they and every of them tender our Displea-
 fure, and will answer to the contrary at their Pe-
 rils. And further, Our Pleafure is, and we do
 hereby give, and grant, for Us, our Heirs and
 Succelfors, that whatfoever either you, or any o-
 ther Perfon or Perfons, of what Degree, Office,
 State, or Condition foever, upon, or by your
 Commiffion, Warrant, or Command, fhall by
 Virtue or Authority of this our Commiffion, or
 Letters Pattents, or according to our Inftuctions
 aforefaid, or according to the Tenour, Effect, or
 Purport of this our Commiffion, touching the
 execution of the Premiffes, or any Part thereof,
 both you, and the faid other Perfon or Perfons,
 upon the fuing forth of thefe our Letters Patents,

or

or the Constat, or the Inrolment thereof, shall be in all, and every of our Courts, and elsewhere in our Dominions, discharged and acquitted, in that behalf against Us, our Heirs, and Successors, and free from all Impeachment, and other Molestations for the same. In witness whereof, We have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness our Self at *Westminster* the Third Day of *August*, in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

By the KING.

BARKER.

To the High and Mighty Monarch CHARLES the Second ; and to the most Serene Majesty of the most Royal CATHERINA, His most Gracious Queen, and Consort : The Humblest of His most prostrately devoted Vassals, Sir John Bowring Knight, in all submissive Humility, presents this Manuscript of many most occult considerable Concerns, and secret Transactions, relating to Your Glorious Father, England's Royal Proto-Martyr.

BEING presented to the King's Majesty at *Oxford*, your Majesty's Royal Father, in the time of the late War, by the Hands of the Right Honourable the Lord High Chamberlain *Lindsey* that now is, my Lord Keeper *Lañe*, my Lord Chief Justice *Heath*, and other Judges, by directions of my Lord Keeper *Littleton* before he died, in his Privy Chamber at *Christ-Church*, in respect I was bred a practicable Clerk at Common

mon Law in the Inns of Court, by the ablest Clerks then living, and so recommended by the Judges to His Majesty. The King immediately sent for Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, and there gave Mr. Secretary directions for a Civil Employment for me, and a Warrant for me to be sworn one of the Clerks of the Council extraordinary, in the place of Mr. *Whittacres*, a Parliament Man then at *London*, in respect there was no other Employment at present, nor Place void, as Mr. Secretary told His Majesty. But when any other happened, he would remember His Majesty of me; and the King commanded him to do so.

Afterwards I was sent for by the King out of *Oxford*, and conveyed by my Lord of *Bristol* in his Coach to *Hamborough*, where were given me in charge, Papers, and other Things, in my Lord of *Lindsey's* Coach, until all was unhappily dispers'd by *Naseby* Fight; yet this Coach and Papers came all safely off to the King's Garison at *Leicester*, until all were unhappily dispers'd. But these were not the Papers that were afterwards put in Print.

Upon this knowledge of me, His Majesty gave special Confidence and Trust to me. His Majesty being afterwards by the Army at *Holdenby*, and thence brought to *Hampton Court*. Upon his coming to *Sion-House*, to Visit, and Dine with the Duke of *Tork*, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, and to meet with the Prince *Electour*, where I was waiting in the Gallery to kiss His Majesty's Hands in some Business. The Prince *Electour* observing His Majesty to speak somewhat privately and kindly to me, told the King, That he knew me, and that I was an Acquaintance of Mr. *Lisles* of the *Isle of Wight*, who
was

was Chair man of his Revenue, which the Parliament allowed him. The King immediately sends the *Electour* into the next Room, and takes me aside into the Gallery; and His Majesty was pleased to ask me, how I came acquainted with Mr. *Lisle* of the *Isle of Wight*? I told His Majesty, he had known me of a Child, and came often to Sir *Guy Palmes* at my Father's House, but Sir *Guy Palmes* hated him for his Violence against His Majesty: I know, says the King, Sir *Guy Palmes* is an honest Man, and your Father both.

The King gave me special charge to keep my Friendship with Mr. *Lisle*; for, says His Majesty, I shall in a short time, for ought I know, be in that Man's Power; meaning, [as I understood after,] His Majesties Resolution was suddenly to retire from *Hampton-Court* to the *Isle of Wight*; and therefore I charge you by all the Duty and Respect you have for Me, and upon your Allegiance, that whatsoever you do, you keep your Interest and Friendship with Mr. *Lisle*; it concerns Me very much, says His Majesty, and you may perchance do me greater Service, and be better able to perform it than any other Friend whatsoever. Be secret, and I shall sometimes send to you. I promised His Majesty, I would do so, since His Majesty had commanded me; though my Father was utterly against my Acquaintance with him; and I would serve His Majesty faithfully in all His Commands, with my Life, and be secret in it.

So that from that time His Majesty came first to the *Isle of Wight*, His Majesty employed me to manage and transact His private and particular Affairs, relying upon me in all things principally, of Care and Hazard to Himself, and which was

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not in the power at that time of any other Person living to do his Majesty any good, except they had a secret Interest with *Lisle*; and this the King understood very well, because his Majesty knew, that *Hammond* received his Orders from *Lisle* in all things, by reason *Hammond* was otherwise a Stranger to the Island.

By this means, I came to the early knowledge of every Design that concerned his Majesty, either by the Parliament, or the Army; and I gave the King a secret and timely Account of all Transactions and Passages, before they came to the Birth, by several Messengers, but chiefly by *Dr. Cade*, because I could best trust my self with him, who constantly adventured his Life in carrying the King Intelligence of Affairs from me to his Majesty's own Ears; and his Majesty principally made choice of *Dr. Cade* to trust with his Messages and Directions back again to me, what his Majesty would have me do in his Business.

I sent the King word by Doctor *Cade* about the
of That I understood the Parliament, both Lords and Commons, were about to prepare some Bills for their Security, as they called them, to pass the Royal Assent, which they would send down suddenly to the *Isle of Wight*, by Commissioners of both Houses, leaving out the Concurrence of the *Scotch* Commissioners, a Trick they never used since the War before in any Address, and then they would further Treat with his Majesty about a Settlement and Peace.

His Majesty desired me by *Dr. Cade*, to send his Majesty word, what my Opinion was concerning those Bills that were about to be sent, and what I would advise his Majesty to do upon them, and that I would keep my Interest with

Mr. *Lisle*, and if I could possibly, come down secretly to the Commissioners.

Hereupon I sent his Majesty word by Dr. *Cade*, that my Opinion was, That when both Houses addressed themselves to his Majesty, the King might declare, That he had no just reason to Sign four Bills to the Parliament for their Security, as they pretended; his Majesty being rather the most Suffering Party in a kind of Restraint in the *Isle of Wight*; unless they would admit four more on his Part, for his Majesties Security at the same time; and there is no doubt but they will do it.

In lieu of the Bill for the *Militia* for Twenty Years, to be placed in what Hands the Parliament should think fit, which is intituled, *An Act for the Raising, Settling, and Maintaining Forces by Sea and by Land, in the Kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Dominion of Wales, and the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed*. I advised his Majesty for his Security, to demand a Bill for the Revenue to be restored to the Crown again, and to be placed in his Majesty's Hands again, and to revive the *Act of Reassumption*. This Bill for restoring the Revenue, I concluded will ballance the Bill for the *Militia*, if it pass but for Ten Years only, which the Parliament will accept of for Ten Years, and his Majesty by no means to consent to the Bill for any longer time than Ten Years.

The Reasons for His Majesty's passing that Bill for Ten Years, were these :

First, It was no great matter for the King to give the Lords and Commons the *Militia* for Ten Years, he being in restraint, which the Lords
and

and Commons had got from his Majesty by open Hostility, and were resolved to keep by Force, since his Majesty can make so good an advantage, as to get his Revenue again restored into his own Hands by this means, in lieu of it, out of their Fingers; especially, when by this demand of his Royal Assent, to settle the *Militia* upon the Lords and Commons, it plainly appears to the People, and is acknowledged by them in offering this Bill, that the Right of the *Militia* is in the King alone absolutely, whilst the War they raised, and all this War they declared to the People, that the Right of the *Militia* is in the Parliament, and not in the King; and that the Legislative Power was in the Parliament and People; by which Pretence they resolved, and seduced the People to raise a War upon their King and Sovereign, and now at the last they come to the King to settle the *Militia* upon them for Twenty Years only; clears it, that it is the King's Right by this Act of their own proposing; and so, if it pass, it will be manifest to all Posterity, that the Blood of the late Wars lyes at the Parliament's Door, and not at the King's. Besides, if his Majesty pass it to the Lords and Commons, as the Act is worded, without the consent of the Lords Spiritual, the Act is void in it self, and is a spurious Act.

If his Majesty pass the Bill for the *Militia* into what Hands the Parliament shall think fit for Ten Years, that when they have the Royal Assent for Ten Years, they will in less than Ten Days after, be together in a Quarrel amongst themselves about it: For this Bill of the *Militia* was at this time moved in the House by *Cromwell*, and the Officers of the Army they gape for it, it was al-

ways so excellent a thing to be the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties, that the Army will never be content to let the two Houses keep it. Besides, it was contrary to the Act proposed; for the Houses were to place the *Militia* in other Hands, as the Lords and Commons should approve: That in all probability, the Army would have fallen out with the House about it; so that he would be most happy that could first make a Refuge to the King; and *Cromwell* was engaged at this time to take an opportunity to serve his Majesty, and to restore his Majesty; and it was twenty to one it had been here; for this would have found *Cromwell* work, [if his Majesty had but winked upon him,] for *Cromwell's* own Safety, and Ambition to be Great; so the Parliament would be glad [as perchance might fall out,] to give your Majesty the *Militia* again, and thank your Majesty to take it, to ballance all, and make all at peace.

In lieu of the Bill of the *Militia*, my Opinion was for his Majesty to demand a Bill, to restore and reinvest him in his Revenue. My Reasons were these:

His Majesty's Revenue is the chief Regale, the Basis, and Primitives of the Crown; and if his Majesty could have that Foundation and Spring-head well cleared from those Perturbations and black Confusions the Parliament had put upon it, and his Majesty peaceably invested in it again, his Majesty would shine forth much more splendid and glorious; and in all the Branches and Flowers of the Crown, I mean of his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, will flourish again with a full Spring, whose Odour and Beauty will vaunt, and Pride it self all over *Europe*, thus watered from
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the Fountain of Wealth and Honour, which, while his Majesty is deprived of, and thus cheated, his Royal Authority is darkned and blasted, and every Branch of the Crown insensibly withers. Therefore, if they restore his Majesty his Revenue, which by God's Grace, and the King's Right, I hope they will not have power to detain any longer from his Majesty. If his Majesty be pleased to demand it upon this Opportunity, his Majesty is thereupon insensibly and immediately restored to his Regal Authority, and themselves deprived of the chief Subsistence of their Rebellion and War, [for they pay their Army chiefly with his Majesty's Revenue;] his Majesty enabled to keep his Open Courts again, the Splendour and Magnificence of which all *Europe* admired, and *France* principally emulated, because in being restored to his Revenue, his Majesty is restored of course to his Royal Prerogative of his Royal Purveyance, and Compositions, and his Majesty will be able then to gratifie all Occasions, and all Persons employed by his Majesty in any Service; and entertain them with all Courtisies and Honour to Himself, and Satisfaction to them at his Majesty's Court.

Instead of the Bill against the *Titles of Peerage* his Majesty created at *Oxford*, since the 20th of *May 1644*, being the Day that *Edward Lord Littleton*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, went with the Seal to his Majesty at *Oxford*. His Majesty did propose, that if the Lords and Commons consent to lay this Bill aside, and instead thereof to pass an Act for further confirmation of those Honours and Titles of Peerage that were created at *Oxford* since the 20th of *May 1644*, his Majesty in return, will voluntarily and of his special

Grace, consent to pass an Act to ratifie their Broad Seal the Lords and Commons made at *London* without the King's consent, and pass an Act of Indempnity and Pardon: His Majesty may be sure they will accept of this Proposition of his Majesty, instead of vacating those Titles of Honour; and so their Spite ceases.

My Reasons were these:

This *Act of Confirmation of their Broad Seal*, shews all Posterity, that their Seal was nought during the whole War, and all they acted by it; it preserves your Majesty's Honours, and Titles of Peerage, amplifies your Majesty's Great Seal at *Oxford*, and makes all Friends.

For the Bill of the *Adjournment of both Houses*, your Majesty will find the Parliament will drop it, if they be pleased in the other Three: So that the Three only, *the Militia, the Honours, and the Indempnity*, are those the Parliament will punctually insist upon. His Majesty, instead of these, I hope will stand upon an Act for restoring his Revenue, his Majesty's Titles of Peerage; and I am confident his Majesty is Reinthroned.

His Majesty very greatly approves of my Opinion, and Reasons, and sent me word by Dr. Cade, he was resolved to follow my Advice.

Commissioners being chosen, and dispatched by the Lords and Commons to the *Iste of Wight* [without the concurrence of the *Scotch Commissioners*,] with all speed, to deliver to the King, in the Name of both Houses, these Four Bills, with divers Articles Engrosed; with directions, that if the King consented to those Bills, they were im-
powered

powered to acquaint his Majesty, the Parliament would immediately treat upon those Articles.

In pursuance of the King's Commands, I obtained by the Favour of some Friends in the Lords House, and some his Majesty sent to in my behalf privately, that my Lord of *Denbigh*, and other Commissioners, were contented I should wait on them down to the *Isle of Wight*; and if it should fall out they should have occasion to Treat with his Majesty, and they be further intrusted, that then I should be Secretary to the whole Transaction of the Treaty.

The Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* finding a new Address made to the King by the Lords and Commons without their concurrence, made all haste to the *Isle of Wight* by themselves to the King. The Commissioners of the Lords and Commons posted after, hoping to get to the King first. But the Commissioners of *Scotland* were with the King a whole Day before at *Caresbrooke Castle*, and before the *English* Commissioners had got to *Newport*, which very much vexed the *English* Commissioners, who no sooner came to *Newport*, but *Hammond* was there waiting, to congratulate their Arrival.

The *English* Commissioners sate in Council immediately, and ordered to send me away to the King, to give his Majesty notice of their Arrival, by the Commands of the Lords and Commons, with Four Bills, and several Articles; and they desired his Majesty graciously to give them Audience: Which Message was the Business I chiefly laboured with the Commissioners all the way I came down with them from *London*, because I had a great desire of an Opportunity to speak with the King personally, and I knew his Majesty

had a desire to speak with me. But Colonel *Hammond* being in Presence when the Commissioners ordered to send me to the King, he desired that he might have the Honour, to acquaint the King of their coming, and of the Four Bills, and Articles; and said to the Commissioners, if they would let him secretly inform the King of what nature the Bills were, and take no notice to his Majesty that he did it by the Commissioners permission, but as a Friend of himself, that then he would undertake to get out of the King, what his Majesty intended to do upon the Bills, before they had their Audience; and so they should know before-hand, the Fortune of their Business, and Address.

Hammond accordingly made all haste to the Castle, to acquaint his Majesty of the Arrival of the *English* Commissioners, and of their Message, and Bills, and what nature they were.

His Majesty within some few Hours, sends Sir *John Barclay*, Colonel *Legg*, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, to the Commissioners, to shew them some respect from his Majesty, and to let them know from his Majesty, that to morrow morning they should have a Message from him, when his Majesty would give them Audience; and withal, his Majesty commands them more specially, to call on me from his Majesty, and to ask some few Questions [in order to the Four Bills,] of me privately from his Majesty.

Hammond returns to the Commissioners the same Night about seven of the Clock, and gives them Intelligence, that he had taken some Pains with his Majesty, to know his mind. Yet the King was very free to him, and told him, he was willing to sign their Four Bills, or to do better in
some

some of them than the Parliament expected, provided they would consent to pass Three more on his Majesty's Part for his Security ; which was, if his Majesty signed the Bill for Ten Years for the *Militia*, [for that is all the time his Majesty will consent to,] his Majesty will have a Bill to pass, to restore his Majesty his Revenue, and revive the *Act of Reassumption of the Revenues of the Crown*.

That if they would lay aside their Bill against his Majesty's Honours and Titles of Peerage, created since the 20th Day of *May* 1644, and bring in a Bill to pass in confirmation of those Titles and Honours, his Majesty will graciously, instead thereof, pass an Act to confirm the Parliaments Broad Seal, and pass an Act besides to indemnify their War, that all may be Friends.

This great Grace of the King's in private, between themselves and *Hammond*, they express'd great Joy for ; and that it was more gracious than the Parliament expected : And the Commissioners concluded by this, there would be a Consummation of a Peace ; and told *Hammond*, they would immediately write away to both Houses, to prepare them in it, that this Offer and Grace of his Majesty might be accepted of, against they received the King's Answer, and Demands, and the King's Audience to this Effect.

Hammond takes leave of the Commissioners, returns to the King again, and acquaints him, That the Commissioners were over-joy'd his Majesty would Sign the Bills with those Variations which they thought fit to be done, and your Majesty to have your Revenue, and your Titles of Honour, and Peerage passed ; and have resolved to send to the Houses, to have your Majesty's Propositions

positions to them accepted, and to prepare the Houses in it against your Majesty proposes to them, that there may be no impediment nor delay in either of both Houses.

This startled the King, when he understood the Commissioners were thus over-joy'd; that his Majesty took a resolution to speak with me Personally, and dispute it a little with me before his Majesty did proceed, for fear there should be some mistake, because the *English* Commissioners were thus over joy'd.

The Commissioners sate in Council; and as they said to Colonel *Hammond*, so they prepared Letters, and sent them away to divers leading Members of the Houses, to acquaint the rest with this good Intelligence; desiring the Members, that since it hath pleased God to move the Heart of the King to agree to Sign the Bills with some Variations, if his Majesty may have a Bill pass to have his Revenue restored to him, and a Bill to pass it; to have his Titles of Honour, and Peerage, created since the 20th of *May*, 1644.

In lieu whereof, his Majesty is graciously pleased to confirm the Parliaments Broad-Seal, made without his Majesty's consent, and pass an *Act of Indemnity* for the War, with desire that the Members of the Houses may be spoken to, that this may be accepted as soon as his Majesty demands it; and writ in the Letters, that they would make all haste to send his Majesty's Answers and Demands to the Houses, which would be very suddenly; and that it is the Earnest of both Houses to both Houses, that they will answer and accept his Majesty's Demands; and that the *Act* may pass this way, to please his Majesty, and God that hath inclined and inspired the
King's

King's Heart, bless us all with the same desire of Peace. One Letter the Commissioners sent to my Lord *Wharton*, Speaker of the House of Lords; another to *Lenthall*, Speaker to the House of Commons; and one to *Frost*, Secretary of the Council.

This Letter, with great Circumstance of what Seal to seal it with, the Commissioners sent suddenly away at Ten of the Clock the same Night they received their Intelligence from *Hammond*, by one who was their Publick Messenger; and one other Letter to *Oliver St. John's*. All these Letters were Copies of the first Letters, and the same words.

Lisle speaks to me to keep *Goodall* their Messenger, until he had writ a private Letter to the same Effect; but somewhat more persuasive to incline, and please the King, and with great Expressions to accept of the King's Demands for Three Bills more, to be Signed on his Majesty's Part, and to be passed into Acts, for confirmation of his Majesty's Titles of Honour at *Oxford*, and for restoring to his Majesty his Revenue, it was but reasonable, and upon his Majesty's Grace and Indempnity they should be happy. — *Lisle* superscribes this Letter privately, to Lieutenant General *Cromwell* at *Hampton Court*, or at the House of Commons, seals it privately himself; and gives *Goodall* order to deliver it safe to his own Hands, and let no body see it, no not me.

This Letter of the Commissioners over joy'd me, to conclude it will be a Peace, and the King's Bills signed; but Mr. *Lisle's* Letter above all to *Cromwell*, was most to be taken notice of, which made me confident there would be no Impediment, and the King restored suddenly.

Next

Next Day, being *Saturday*, his Majesty sends word, that he would give them Audience to morrow after Dinner, being *Sunday*, at *Caresbrook Castle*. Accordingly the Commissioners had Audience, delivered the King the Four Bills in the Name of both Houses, reading the Titles to the King. Then the Lord *Denbigh* read the Propositions, and delivered them ingrossed in Parchment to the King, acquainting his Majesty in the Name of both Houses, That the King would be pleased to Sign those Four Bills first; and then the Parliament would Treat with the King upon those Articles.

The King answered to morrow Morning, in the same place they should receive their Answer; so the Commissioners, and all of Us, kissed his Majesty's Hands, and retired.

On *Monday* Morning the Commissioners waited at *Caresbrook Castle* for their Answer; which they expected should be according to the Intelligence they received from *Hammond*.

When the Commissioners came into the King's Presence, his Majesty holding a Paper in his Hand, spake very graciously to the Commissioners, and excuses his Delivery to them, his Answer sealed up. But the Commissioners looked one upon another somewhat amazed, and whispered a little together, and refused to take it sealed. His Majesty bids them go into a Room close by, and consider. The Commissioners go aside, and consider, and return to the King again, and declared, they would not take his Majesty's Answer sealed up. His Majesty, with some little jocular Arguments, asketh my Lord of *Denbigh*, If he had power to be Judge of his Answer, or to Treat with him?

The Commissioners made Answer, No.

Then

Then said his Majesty, I wonder at you, that you should deny to take my Answer sealed up, since you have no more power than common Posts. The Commissioners made their Obeysance, and went out of the King's Presence; yet immediately, upon better Thoughts, they returned to the King, for fear least if the Paper sealed, which was all the while in his Majesty's Hands, should be his Majesty's Concessions to the Bills, and they should unhappily refuse to take them, because his Majesty's Paper was sealed up, the Houses of Parliament might perchance be displeased with them; for they were bound to take his Majesty's Concessions. So the Commissioners went back to the King; but before they could speak to the King, his Majesty as soon as he sees them again, breaks open his Answer, and reads it to them, and so delivered it to the Commissioners. They took it, read it, and asked his Majesty, If this were all his Majesty's Answer to the Bills? Yes, said the King, at the present this is all. So they made their Obeysance, and took their leave.

I omitted by chance, may it please your Majesty, to write in the Leaf before, your Majesty's Royal Father's Reasons, when his Majesty excused himself in delivering his Answer sealed up, which were according to my Notes in these words:

My Lords and Gentlemen, I look upon you all with as Honourable Esteem as upon any other Commissioners that have been ever sent to me from my Two Houses, either to Uxbridge or any other Place; and I must confess, it was always my custom to deliver my Papers, of what Importance soever, to the Commissioners open and unsealed.
But,

But, to my great abuse and grief, I found at length, that most, or some of them, sent Copies of my Papers always to several Members of both Houses, and so prevented my sense, and so put what construction they pleased upon it; that when my Answers and Papers came to be openly read in the Houses, most of the Leading Members were possess'd before hand, and had laid and designed my Business according to their several Interesses, and were ready prepared with Speeches against me for their several Purposes; that the true genuine Sense of my Papers were always blasted, and never rightly understood, and so most times became unfortunate. Now therefore, being at a greater distance of Miles from my Two Houses here in the Isle of Wight, than I have most times been, when I received your Messages in many oiber Places heretofore, I thought it good to take more care that this Prejudice might be prevented for the future; and have reason to hope, my Answers and Messages, though at this distance, might take better effect with my Two Houses than they have formerly. Wherefore I delivered this to You for my Two Houses of Parliament sealed up, and it is not of any disrespect to your Persons.

The Commissioners being come away with his Majesty's Answer, and from his Majesty opened, considered upon it at Newport, and found his Majesty's Mind was altered from what they had Intelligence from Hammond, in order to the passing the Four Bills with some Variations. They believed therefore his Majesty had some thoughts to get away, and peradventure was perswaded by the Scotch Commissioners to do so, and had made some Agreement with the Scots, which they concluded

cluded the more absolutely, because his Majesty Knighted Sir *John Chislett*, the *Scotch* Commissioners Secretary, upon their taking leave of the King.

Upon which, I understood by *Lisle*, one of the *English* Commissioners, that they were resolved for the present, to secure his Majesty's Person in the Castle, and to know the Parliaments further Pleasure, and to send away Sir *John Barclay*, Colonel *Legg*, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, the next Day. But my Lord of *Denbigh* would by no means consent to imprison the King, and therefore protested against it.

Whereupon I sent one early in the Morning to the Castle, and Dr. *Cade* to the King, to give his Majesty Intelligence of their Intention to imprison his Majesty's Person, and to send away Sir *John Barclay*, Colonel *Legg*, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, the next Day, with intention his Majesty might do what was most prudential towards his Preservation. But his Majesty sent me word, he desired to speak with me my self, by any means, and I must adventure to come to him: I waited on him early the same Morning, within an hour, in the Castle, where his Majesty was pleased to declare to me, That if he could have spoken with my self before he had delivered his Paper, and Answer to the Commissioners, he would then have signed the Bills with those Variations, which I sent him word of by Dr. *Cade*, demanding Three more for himself of his Majesty's own Part for his Revenue; but finding the Commissioners over-joy'd, [for otherwise, said his Majesty, he found my Advice most prudent,] his Majesty thought the Advice I sent him by Dr. *Cade*, might possibly be a little mistaken in the Doctor's Delivery

livery from me: Yet since he had now answered to their Message, and that consider of it for Ten Days, which was only to get an opportunity and time to speak with me Personally, he would do no more in it till the Ten Days were expired. But after Ten Days, his Majesty declared to me, that he was resolved he would sign the Bills with those Variations and Demands on his Majesty's own Part, as I had advised his Majesty in my Message by *Dr. Cade*, before the Bills came down from the Parliament by the Commissioners.

I persuaded his Majesty all that I could to recall that Paper, for fear of the worst, and to sign the Bills with those Variations and Demands, which I assured the King, and I shewed his Majesty the Reasons for it, would take effect. And I told his Majesty, I understood my Lord of *Denbigh* would upon his own account, wait privately to persuade his Majesty to sign the Bills; and then, if his Majesty pleased, he might do it, and take that Opportunity. My Lord *Denbigh*, I knew it, would by no means consent to the imprisoning his Majesty, as he was passionately against it: I acquainted his Majesty, as I am ready to give your Majesty an Account, and in a Particular worthy your Majesty's hearing, craving your Majesty's Pardon for this Presumption, to give your Majesty the trouble in hearing it.

But says his Majesty, if they will not be satisfied with my Answer for Ten Days, but imprison my Person upon Pretences, and Fears, that I delay only for an Opportunity to get away; now you know my Reasons, then I must suffer.

After

After many other Discourses, his Majesty acquainted me, That the Commissioners for *Scotland* had fairly taken their leaves of him; and that in proper time his Majesty would be as kind to me, and Civil, as his Majesty had shewed himself to their Secretary, if his Majesty did not excel it; for his Majesty was pleased to say, that he looked upon me as his greater Friend.

But, says his Majesty to me, if this unfortunately happens to me, go you into *Scotland*, and reside there, and be curious of my Interest and Affairs; and upon all occasions send to my Son *Charles* the Prince, who is now in *Holland*, of every Transaction that may concern Him, and his Safety, in which my own at this time is most principally concerned; and his Majesty would give the Prince [now your Majesty, then in *Holland*,] notice of me; and said, That he had acquainted my Lord *Lannerick* of me already, who is now his Majesty's Secretary of State in *Scotland*, and had shewed me to him in the Castle one time when I was to wait on his Majesty, and that my Lord *Lannerick* knew my Person; yet charged me, that whatsoever I did, I should keep secret, and never acquaint my Lord *Lannerick*, nor any other Person, of any Message or Business I should send to your Message into *Holland*. And further said, That he had given my Lord *Lannerick* command, that he should in all occasions that concerned his Majesty and his Affairs, advise with me, and do nothing without me. My Lord *Lannerick* did so, held a constant correspondence with me, both in raising the Army under Duke *Hamilton*, and all other Transactions in the Parliament of *Scotland*, that might concern the King's Affairs at that time, and advised with me

in all occasions according to his Majesty's Instructions ; and Ciphers sent down after him, with directions to shew them to me : And I found him always a very punctual Person to the King's Commands, and so faithful, that I durst trust my self with him.

Accordingly , after I was in *Scotland* by two Months , with great Expences by Intelligence : There I found it necessary to send your Majesty word [then the Prince of *Wales* in *Holland*,] by Sir *Thomas Glenham*, That for some private material Reasons, I thought it not safe for the Prince, [now your Majesty,] nor no other of your Royal Family, by any means, to come into *Scotland*, and to put your self into the Head of Duke *Hamilton's* unfortunate Army. But withal , I besought Sir *Thomas Glenham* [who assured me, he lay at *Edinburgh* for this purpose to speak with me, and with directions to be ruled by me,] to make what haste he possibly could with this Message to your Majesty, [then the Prince of *Wales*,] and that he would not inquire into my Reasons.

Sir *Thomas Glenham* told me, Sir, if you think it fit and safe for the Prince to come into *Scotland*, my Directions are then to send for him ; but if you think it not fit he should come over, then I am to go into *Holland*, as I must pretend, to fetch his Highness my self into *Scotland*, and so prevent his Highness from coming. These are my Instructions ; and I am not to inquire into your Reasons.

After this Message by Sir *Thomas Glenham* to your Majesty then in *Holland*, by which, as was most evident by the Misfortune of Duke *Hamilton's* Army, I was instrumental to the preservation of

of your Majesty's Person in safety. At that time, it being frequently lamented by those Rogues under *Cromwell* after their Victory, that they had not the Fortune to have taken your Majesty, [whom God ever preserve] in Duke *Hamilton's* Army, as was expected.

Immediately I took Ship in half an Hour for Security of my self; for one could not tell for certain whom to Trust, because, if Sir *Thomas Glenham* should have discovered this Message to any Person in *Scotland*, that was concerned in Duke *Hamilton's* Army, out of Piety to them, as a Friend, or for Honour, as a Gentleman, then I had been seized on, and perchance put to Death for preventing the Prince of *Wales* [now your Majesty,] from coming over, who was expected every Hour to be in the Head of the Army with Duke *Hamilton*, and nothing more desired amongst them; or at the least, I had been imprisoned to know my Opinion, and questioned to know my Reasons; and so I had been undone, both by the *Scotch* and the *English*.

And this was not to be done at a small Charge and Expence, where I kept and maintained a Person who was faithful, and used to be in the *Isle of Wight* with me, ready upon all Occasions; if I had not found Sir *Thomas Glenham* lying at *Edenburgh*, ready upon all occasions, purposely to go, or send into *Holland* to your Majesty [then the Prince] from me, as I found occasion for your Majesty's Safety; beside the perpetual Hazard of my Life both with the *Scotch* and the *English*.

And upon which, being brought the first *Whit-sunday* Morning after your happy Restauration, by your Majesty's Command, to your Majesty's

Closet in *Whitehall*, by Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, to give your Majesty an account of some Particulars, your Majesty was pleased to tell me, You remembred that Sir *Thomas Glenham* did bring this Message over into *Holland* to your Majesty from me, wherein your Majesty was graciously pleased to give me great Encouragement of your Majesty's Favour, and for my Services to your Majesty's Royal Father and your Sacred Person. Your Majesty was pleased to exprefs, That your Majesty would be the same Friend to me, as your Royal Father intended to be to me; and bid me assure my self, and be very well assured, That I should find your Majesty civil to me in whatsoever I should desire of your Majesty. At which time, your Majesty was graciously pleased to ask me, If I had any thing to move your Majesty in at present for my self? I answered, at present I had not; but besought your Majesty for the future Favour, that I might throw my self at your Majesty's Feet, when your Royal Affairs were more settled; and your Majesty was pleased to command me graciously to be often in your Majesty's Eye, and said, You would sometimes call me to your Majesty, and that your Majesty would take a further opportunity to speak with me in your Royal Father's Transactions more fully; for then your Majesty's time was spent, my Lord Chamberlain coming to wait on you in some other Affairs.

I returned into *England* from *Edinburgh* by Sea, with all speed, as soon as I had delivered my mind to Sir *Thomas Glenham*, for your Majesty then in *Holland*; and made all haste into *England*, of intention to wait on your Majesty's Royal Father in the *Isle of Wight*, then a Prisoner in
Cares-

Caresbrook Castle, to give his Majesty an account of this Particular in chief, and of other Things, that his Majesty might not expect, nor take it ill from the Prince of *Wales*, [now your Majesty,] that you were not marched in the Head of Duke *Hamilton's Army* into *England*, as his Majesty expected for his Relief, nor that any dishonour might happen to your Majesty by it, and to shew his Majesty the Reason for it; and that I sent to your Majesty by Sir *Thomas Glenham* Personally into *Holland*, to prevent your Majesty's coming over to Duke *Hamilton's Army*, as your Majesty's Royal Father commanded me, if I saw occasion. But that his Business must be done some other way; there being no hopes of Duke *Hamilton's Army* for his Relief in *Caresbrook Castle*, as his Majesty relied upon, and expected.

But yet I very well knew how difficult it was, and how hard to be done, to get to speak one word, or to see his Majesty in *Caresbrook Castle*; though by me, that well understood, and was favoured by Colonel *Hammond* for *Lisle's* sake, under whose Interest I had a freedom in the Island, and to come to the Castle too, with *Hammond's* leave, and without suspicion.

And I knew, as there was the greatest necessity speedily to speak with the King, both to preserve his Majesty's Person, because of the Miscarriage of Duke *Hamilton's Army*, which would shortly happen by *Cromwell's* Victory, and the difficulty I should find to come to speak to his Majesty; and if I did, that would not do his Business. I thought I must therefore turn my self nimbly about, or he would suddenly be lost as soon as *Cromwell* returned to *London*. And therefore I

concluded to make my way suddenly to his Majesty, and by some means that might give his Majesty liberty, by Policy, to save himself, since the Army out of *Scotland*, under Duke *Hamilton's* Command, which his Majesty relied upon for his Relief, would suddenly be lost. And this must be done with all speed, before his Majesty should come to know of the loss of Duke *Hamilton's* Army, to keep up the King's Heart.

Hereupon I considered when I returned out of *Scotland*, immediately in the same hour, I sent away Sir *Thomas Glenham*, coming to take my leave of Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, one of the Commissioners for *England*, residing there for the pretended Parliament, who were afraid to return into *England*, because of Duke *Hamilton's* Army now upon the march, and could send no Letters to the Parliament of any account, but were intercepted by the Duke's Army, took the opportunity to write a Letter of Credence by me to some Members of the House, and writ in the Letter, That because they had no safety or opportunity to write Letters of Business, by reason of the danger of the Army, they referred the Parliament to me, to understand the State of Affairs, as things then stood in *Scotland* in reference to *England*; and says the Letter, This Gentleman can give you an account of all Things as well as if we writ, or were with you our selves to do it.

Which Letter gave me great Reputation with the Parliament, that gaped for News out of *Scotland*; so that I was formally examined by Mr. *Liste*, and Mr. *Love*, to whom Mr. *Goodwyn* directed his Letter, and signed it by the command of the other Commissioners, and to divers other

Mem-

Members, most Presbyterians, how Things and Affairs stood in *Scotland*.

I took little notice that I knew the inside of the Letter that I brought; so I told them, I knew very little News: I understood no Business but only this, That Duke *Hamilton's* Army was marched for *England* before I came away; and as some of us understood privately, that he would be beaten by *Cromwell*; and so it was designed. Is this all you tell us that is material? Yes, said I. Whereupon they whispered together, and said, There was little notice to be taken of what I said, for it was impossible: And so these Gentlemen, very angry, returned into the House. By which, I understood, my Business was more than half done already.

Whereupon, one of the Members spake to me, and says, Sir, we thank you for your Letters; but for what you tell us, if that be all, we are to tell you, it is impossible for *Cromwell* to conquer Duke *Hamilton's* Army, but who the Parliament appoints; and they will appoint no Commission to any, but to their General *Fairfax*. Besides, *Cromwell*, who is now under *Fairfax's* Command, is now at the Siege of *Pembroke Castle* in *Wales*, and hath been there these two Months, but with Fifteen hundred Men all, worn out; so having no Army with him, or Orders from the Parliament, he cannot fight Duke *Hamilton*; therefore you must needs be mistaken in this Business, says the Parliament Men to me. So I returned to my Lodgings.

Within Three Days after this Examination, which was generally told by me to the Lords and Commons, *Cromwell* writes a Letter to the House of Commons, and says:

Finding the great Enemy of Scotland, under the Command of Duke Hamilton, had invaded England, and was marched on this side Twede, towards Newcastle, with a vast and formidable Army, he thought it his Duty to raise his Siege at Pembroke Castle, and was now fallen down into Cheshire, into the Head of such and such Regiments which were in all Five thousand, and was now marched towards York with them, to join with Lambert, which had Six thousand more, and desired the Parliament to hasten the General after him with all speed; but however, with that handfull he hoped, and they should see by God's Providence, he would render them a sudden and victorious Account of Duke Hamilton's Army.

This Letter exceedingly startled all the *Presbyterians*; for the *Independents* were yet an occult Interest, that had not yet shewed themselves, and sided altogether with all Foreign Solicitations against the King and both Houses, upon all opportunities to betray the Monarchical Government, and skulked, and lay masked under the *Presbyterians*, and amongst them in the House, being most of them Stipendaries to Foreign Princes, till it was their time, and that *Cromwell* grew victorious. So that upon this Letter of *Cromwell's*, the *Presbyterians* being exceedingly vexed that *Cromwell* should be at the Head of Eleven thousand Men in Arms, Horse and Foot, that just now before had only Fifteen hundred tired Soldiers besieging *Pembroke Castle*, and was marched without Orders to fight *Duke Hamilton*, either from Them or the General, and write them word he did not doubt of Success.

They

They bethought themselves ; and immediately some Members sent for me, to come to them at the *Lobby* of the Commons Door, where one Mr. *Thomas Gell* spake to me this time, [there being a great many Members with him,] and said, Sir, We remember the other Day, upon your coming out of *Scotland*, you told us, That all you could let us understand out of *Scotland* that was considerable, that *Cromwell* was to fight, and beat Duke *Hamilton's* Army. We answered you again, It was impossible, because the Parliament would not give *Cromwell* any Commission to fight Duke *Hamilton*, or any Army : But to Day he hath sent us a Letter, which is this ; so it was read to me, which was the Letter express'd just before in this Paper.

Now Sir, we have just Reason to take notice of your Words, and we are informed that you are a Gentleman which understands the Interest of both Kingdoms, and how those Interesses stand betwixt the King and Us, and in all Points besides, more than we are willing to speak, and therefore of some Interesses you have with the King. Therefore having great Reason to take notice of your Words about Duke *Hamilton's* Army, we must desire you to tell Us what you think will be the Event of Things by *Cromwell's* Victory, if it please God it must be so, and then what you think is the best way for Us to take, in order to the good of the Kingdoms, and of us all.

I said, This is a very hard Point for me to answer ; but however, I will tell you my Opinion. If *Cromwell* beats Duke *Hamilton's* Army, as no doubt he will, I believe he will return to *London* with

with all speed, purge the House as they call it, and thereby set up his own Party.

What do you mean by his own Party, says some of them to me? I understand the *Independants*, that are now a secret Party close in the House, to be his Creatures.

Well, what do you think is best to be done, and for the Parliament now to do, as things stand, to take in hand, in order to the good of the Kingdoms, and of us all.

Sir, my Opinion is this: The best and most prudential way you can take, as things now stand, and the safest is, for the Parliament to take off the Votes of Non-Addressees, and fetch his Majesty the King out of the *Isle of Wight*, and settle him speedily in his Throne here at *Westminster*, which will prevent *Cromwell* upon presuming any Design with his Victorious Army; or you may easily master him, when you shall see at the same instant the Three Estates united, the King enthroned, and all in Peace. By this means you will master him, and his bloody Army, and no otherwise. But if the Parliament do not this out of hand, I fear he will ruin all.

The Members made no answer, but returned into the House: After they had talked a while together, and that Afternoon, being *Friday* the 28th Day of *July* 1648, they voted a Treaty to be had by the Lords and Commons in the *Isle of Wight*, where the King should appoint, upon the Articles presented to his Majesty at *Hampton Court*, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety.

The *Independents* finding themselves surprized with this Treaty, came flocking to fill the House, and to obstruct Proceedings.

As soon as this Vote had passed, I considered, it was most necessary, that before *Hammond* should have any notice of these Votes from the Parliament, to acquaint his Majesty first. His Majesty might have denied to have Treated in the *Isle of Wight*, because the Parliament House had imprisoned the King in *Caresbrooke Castle*, and the rather, because his Majesty would peradventure take this Opportunity to get nearer to *London*: Which would have given ground in the Houses, to reassume the Votes for a Treaty upon a new Debate, and then in all likelihood, it would have been damn'd again; because the *Independents*, who were before surprized with this Vote for a Treaty, it was of such a sudden, and most of them out of the House, but now watched every Moment, and Day, and had made a full House to bring the Treaty again to nothing upon all Opportunities.

To prevent this Accident in the King, and because the rather I thought it would be most convenient for me to speak with his Majesty, to consider of what was more to be done further of this Business of the Treaty for the King's convenience: As soon as ever the Votes had passed, that Night I went with all speed to the *Isle of Wight*, and came to *Caresbrooke Castle* to see Coll. *Hammond* on Sunday Morning before Nine of the Clock; the Treaty having pass'd but on Friday before Coll. *Hammond* treated me civilly, and desired me to Dine with him. Yet there passed never a word from me to *Hammond* of this Treaty, or did I ask *Hammond* ever a word how the King did.

But after *Hammond* had Dined, he made all haste, as his custom was, to wait on the King at Dinner:

Dinner : So he desired me to stay till the King had Dined, because he would send a Letter by me to Mr. *Lisle* ; and so *Hammond* puts me in the King's Presence, and went back again to call for the King's Dinner ; where the King sitting upon the Form, I Addressed my self, and kissed his Majesty's Hand, so that in that instant I said, Sir, the Parliament have voted a Treaty with your Majesty in the *Isle of Wight* ; if your Majesty do not accept of it here in the *Isle of Wight*, I fear the Vote will be re-assumed, and come to nothing. The King pinched my Hand, as I kissed his ; by which, I understood the King knew what I said.

Mildmay was at the other end of the room by the Table ; he drew towards me, and salutes me kindly. I told him, I wondered much there were no more Gentlemen here while his Majesty was at Dinner. I turned to Coll. *Hammond*, and said, Sir, I wonder to see no more Gentlemen here, now the King was at Dinner, and at Liberty. Says *Hammond*, there is no body to come within the Castle to see the King ; I thought you were not ignorant of that. No Sir, said I, not when his Majesty was a Prisoner : But now the Parliament have voted a Treaty with the King in the *Isle of Wight*, every body may wait on his Majesty at pleasure.

I never heard of this : When passed this Vote for a Treaty, says *Hammond* ? On Friday, I answered. Is the Vote of Non-Addressees taken off, says *Hammond* ? I answered, I could not well tell ; yet I knew it was not. The Parliament, I said, think they have done enough already to vote a Treaty in what place his Majesty shall approve within the Isle, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety ; implies his Majesty's Liberty, and Honour,

Honour, and all his Subjects to come and wait on his Majesty at pleasure.

But yet I advised *Hammond* to write a word to Mr. *Lisle*, and to other particular Members, to have the Votes of Non-Addressees taken off, for *Hammond's* own sake; and the King had best write too; you may speak to his Majesty, I said: Yes, so I will, says *Hammond*; for the taking off the Votes of Non-Addressees will be chiefly my Authority, to let his Majesty be at liberty in the Castle, and People to come to him: I will write to Mr. *Lisle* about it by you, and to some other Friends. But yet I see this Vote sets the King at liberty: Yes, that it does, said I, to his Majesty, as may be expected, but only for your own Authority.

May I adventure to tell his Majesty of this Vote for a Treaty, says *Hammond* to me? Yes, I warrant you, said I, Sir. And please your Majesty, Here is a Gentleman newly come from *London*, which tells me News that I am glad to hear of. He says, The Parliament have newly voted a Personal Treaty with your Majesty in the Island, where your Majesty will appoint, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety.

Pray did you not hear of this before, Colonel *Hammond*, says the King? He answered, No. Pray Sir, What are the Votes, says his Majesty to me? I told his Majesty word for word what they were. Well, says his Majesty to me; and Sir, said I, they will allow your Majesty Council too, if your Majesty please to demand it; that I shall do, says his Majesty.

Immediately before the King had dined, came a Post with private Letters, and the Votes to Colonel *Hammond*, from some Members of the House:

House: *Hammond* read them to the King. Well, says the King, I shall accept of this Treaty here in the *Isle of Wight*. Says his Majesty, Is there no direction in your Letters, to acquaint me with the Votes? Yes Sir, says *Hammond*, but that is all. Sure, says the King, I shall hear particularly from the Lords and Commons of this Treaty. I have a mind [Do you write back by this Messenger? Yes Sir.] to write back by your Messenger for Council: Well, I will stay till I hear further from my Two Houses. The King turns to Colonel *Hammond*, and says, Do you obey this Vote Sir: With all my Heart. Then I hope, says his Majesty, I am now no Prisoner, but that I may go where I please in the Island. Yes, and please your Majesty, says Colonel *Hammond*. Then says his Majesty, I will ride to *Newport* this Afternoon, to make choice of my House; and *Newport* shall be my place: But first I will walk forth upon the Bowling Green, says his Majesty. *Hammond* sends the Gentlemen to Dinner; and tells Mr. *Mildmay* and other Gentlemen, that I had Dined already.

After the Gentlemen were gone, *Hammond* persuades the King to write to both Houses to take off the Votes of Non-Addresses. Says *Hammond*, this Gentleman will tell your Majesty, it is the best way for your Majesty and me. So *Hammond* leaves me by my self, with the King in the Presence, and tells me in his Majesty's hearing, he will go and write a Letter for me, and wait on me presently.

As soon as *Hammond* was gone, the King thanks me for my great care for him, which he would never forget while he lived, and reward me for it highly in whatsoever I should desire of his

his Majesty ; either for my Self , or any other Friend. I thought , says his Majesty , you had good News for me by your cheerful Countenance. And please Your Majesty , I said never a word to *Hammond* of any Treaty , or other Business , before he brought me into Your Majesties Presence. Says his Majesty , I have had a sad time of it ever since the Two Houses imprisoned me in this Castle , expecting every hour when I should have been murdered ; but You have relieved my Heart now. What more News have you ?

Sir , I came out of *Scotland* about Fourteen Days since ; at which time , Duke *Hamilton's* Army was marched on this side *Berwick* before I came from *Edenburgh* ; and so I told the King how things stood in *Scotland* , and of Your Majesties being in *Holland* still , because Duke *Hamilton's* Army would be unfortunate ; and that very near this time , Duke *Hamilton's* Army would be engaged with *Cromwell* ; and that I sent Sir *Thomas Glenham* to the Prince [now Your Majesty ,] into *Holland* , to prevent Your Majesty's coming over into Duke *Hamilton's* unfortunate Army , or that else Your Majesty had been in the Head of Duke *Hamilton's* Army , to have relieved his Majesty out of Prison.

The King was exceeding glad of this good Fortune in the Prince's [now Your Majesty's] Preservation ; for , says his Majesty , it might otherwise have proved a bad Business , as things might have happened. I acquainted the King partly how things came about , and how the Treaty came to be voted.

The King admired the Houses sent no body to him , to let his Majesty know of this Treaty : Do you think they will not ? Yes , and please
Your

Your Majesty, I believe they will very suddenly. Make what haste you can to *London*, and let some of the Parliament know, whom you know are your Friends, that you have spoken with me, and that I desire to have this Vote sent me down speedily by some Members; and acquaint your Friends of my other Desires, to have the Non-Addresses taken off, and Council allowed me; and when they send down to me, then I will write for Council, and Servants. Do you think *Hammond* will write for those Votes of Non-Addresses to be taken off? Sir, *Hammond* told me, he would write by me to Mr. *Lisle*, and some other Members, to have them taken off; and desired me to persuade what Members I could of both Houses; for *Hammond* was possess'd, nothing is more for his own Advantage than the taking off these Votes, and I have told him so all along, may it please Your Majesty: So that *Hammond* will, for his Advantage and Authority, prevail with the *Independents* in the House; and I am sure, the *Presbyterians* are as willing already for their own Preservation, as Your Majesty can desire, to Treat, and make Peace with Your Majesty. For they will otherwise be swallowed by *Cromwell*; and therefore there is no question, but the Non-Addresses will be repealed.

Make haste to *London*, says the King to me, and let Commissioners be sent me down from both Houses, to acquaint me of the Treaty. I will appoint *Newport* to be the place. See the Non-Addresses taken off: I will write to both Houses for that purpose, and for Council. Understand what you can of the private Instructions given to the Commissioners that are to Treat with me; and do you all you can that is necessary for

for me; and make all haste to me to *Newport*. I will watch your coming down to *Newport*; for I will do nothing in my Treaty till you come to me: I shall have great business with you.

Hammond returns into Presence, with his Letters to Mr. *Lisle*, and other Members, and gives them me before his Majesty, and says in the King's hearing, I have writ to Mr. *Lisle*, to prevail with the Two Houses to take off the Votes of Non-Addresses, for my Authority. Have you spoke to the King to write? Says the King, I will write to the Parliament to take off the Votes of Non-Addresses, that I may not go lamely about my Treaty, and that I may Treat with Honour. I will write as soon as any body comes to me, to give notice from my Two Houses of the Treaty. I shall not write by this Gentleman: Would you have me? As Your Majesty pleases, says *Hammond*; the sooner the better, he will deliver Your Majesties Letter safe. Says the King, It will ask me a little time, [and so the King nodded upon me,] and this Gentleman I know must go presently.

Immediately I returned to *London* with *Hammond's* Letters to *Lisle*, and others; and by *Monday* Night the 31st of *July*, I acquainted some Friends of the House with the King's Desires, to have the Votes of Non-Addresses taken off, and to have Council to prepare them against the King should write for Council, and that his Majesty expected some Members of both Houses before now, to be sent from the Parliament to acquaint his Majesty from the Lords and Commons of the Votes and Treaty.

On *Wednesday* Morning, the 2d of *August*, the Lords and Commons voted Commissioners from both Houses, to acquaint the King at *Caresbrook Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*, of the *Personal Treaty*.

Upon the Commissioners acquainting the King of the Treaty, the King writes to the Parliament the 10th of *August* for Council, and to take off the Votes of Non-Addresses, and if possible he might Treat nearer to *London*. As soon as the Parliament had taken off the Votes of Non-Addresses, *Jovis* 24th of *August* 1648, they voted his Majesties Council, and Letters to be sent from both Houses, to signifie to the King to that purpose.

The Commissioners of the Lords and Commons chosen to Treat with his Majesty, which the *Independents* took special care should be mixed with as many of their Interest, as they could crowd in, to choak the Treaty in its growth by Delays, till *Cromwell* returns with the Army from *Edenburgh* in *Scotland*; which was all the Trick the *Independents* had left them now, since they were not able to stifle it in the Birth, and the Commissioners fully instructed, and the limited Forty Days.

I then returned from *London* to his Majesty in the *Isle of Wight*, as soon as the Parliament had sent away the King's Council, to give his Majesty an Account of Transactions at large, and what was best to be done, and safest for his Majesties Welfare in this juncture of Affairs.

Upon my coming to *Newport Town*, Doctor *Cade* was watching for me by the King's Command, because he knew me, who brought me to *Sir Edward Walker*, to whom I was a Stranger; and

and Sir *Edward* immediately brought me up by command to the King's Cloſſet: The Cloſſet-door being open, with a ſmiling Countenance receives me, where, after I had the Honour to kiſs his Maſteſties Hand, his Maſteſty was pleaſed to ſay, commanding Sir *Edward Walker* to ſhut the Door, and ſee no body hearkned, Doctor *Cade* being placed at the Door without; I thank you for all your Pains taken for me, both in *England* and in *Scotland*, and in particular for my Son *Charles*; and I muſt tell you, I never repented that thing ſince I was born, more than that I did not ſign the Four Bills ſent me to *Caresbrooke*, as you have adviſed me, according to your Directions; for if I had, I have lived to ſee, and know ſince, that I had not been imprifoned. And therefore by the help of God, now I will be ruled by you in whatſoever you ſhall adviſe me in this Treaty.

Sir, I thank Your Maſteſty for this great Honour, I ſaid; but looking about me towards the Door, the King obſerved, and commanded Sir *Edward Walker* to open the Door, and ſee if any body hearkned. Sir *Edward* ſhuts the Door again, and answered, no body was without but Dr. *Cade*.

Sir, ſaid I, this Treaty is not obtained of any intention Your Maſteſty ſhould or can poſſibly make your Peace by it, but it is deſigned only of purpoſe to get Your Maſteſty liberty to go away, and to have Friends to help You. But looking the King in the Face, I found his Maſteſties Countenance to alter very much, and to grow pale as I ſpoke to his Maſteſty: Whereupon I immediately apprehended his Maſteſty miſliked my Advice of getting away. Upon which I inſtantly

said, Yet Sir, if Your Majesty does think in Your better Judgment, You can make your more certain Peace by Treating than You can by going away, then I beg of Your Majesty to make Your Majesties Concessions in one Declaration, and at one Instant, and in one Day, and I will tell Your Majesty how Your Majesty may do it, and I will tell Your Majesty how much the Parliament will abate Your Majesty upon any one Article more or less, as well as if Your Majesty should Treat out Your Forty Days: And if I mistake my self in any one tittle of any one Article [which is a very hard matter to do,] I will give Your Majesty my Life. I know and understand Your Majesties Business so well, and therefore I beg Your Majesty to do it at one instant of time by one Declaration. Forty Days was only a Trick of *Cromwell's* Party in the House, who would have given Your Majesty for Forty Days Forty Months, when they found they could not prevent the Treaty, that because they hoped Your Majesty will debate all the time, wherein they will use all Acts [that You may do so,] with all Persons and Parties to persuade You, that can any way have influence upon Your Majesty: In which time, *Cromwell* may have dispatch'd in *Scotland*, and return'd to *London* with his Army, and so advance his own Party in frustrating the present Peace and Treaty, and by that means crush the Flowers of Your Monarchy.

Well, says his Majesty, looking upon Sir *Edward Walker*, I would have you consider what Concessions, and how you would advise to make my Answer to every individual Article in one Body, or Declaration, as you say. Consider of it a little while, and I will be with you again

again in it, and we shall do something in it together. Sir, said I, I can tell your Majesty at this instant now in Your Majesties Clofset as well, nay perchance better, than if I were to consider of it a Year. Sir *Edward* steps to the Table, takes up a Book of the Articles, gives it the King, and says, Pray Sir, let the Gentleman tell it You now; he begs it of Your Majesty; perchance it may be better for his Memory or Judgment, than at any other time. The King sits down; Sir *Edward Walker* comes near the Table to hear, and gives me the Book of Articles. May it please Your Majesty, with Your Royal Pardon, I think there are only these Four Articles will stick with Your Majesty in the whole number; The *Militia*, the *Court of Wards*, *Banishing the Lords*, and *Expunging the Bishops*.

Nay Sir, I will tell you, says his Majesty, I will part with the *Militia* to them; that shall break no squares, as you advised me upon the Bills before I was imprisoned; and for the same Reasons you advised me, which was for ten Years, so I may have my Revenue again instead of it settled upon me. Sir, said I, that they will consent to, and this will satisfy that Article.

Now for the *Court of Wards*, says his Majesty, I will part with that too for the Hundred thousand Pounds a Year they promised to give me; it is Twenty thousand Pounds a Year more than ever I made of it; and I believe, when I have parted with it, the Nobility and Gentry will be the first will repent it, and wish it had never been: And the Houses shall pass a Bill to me for that purpose, and you shall go up to *London* to see it done for me; for as yet I have nothing but their bare words. Do you think you can get

a Bill to pass, as I shall give you directions? And I will demand a Bill of the Commissioners. Yes, and please Your Majesty, I'll warrant You. Then, says the King, the *Court of Wards* shall break no Squares. The other Act Your Majesty will stick at, will be the Act against the Lords.

Says the King, that I cannot consent to, to Banish the Lords.

Sir, said I, they will never abate You this Article. The Reason is very plain; and yet they are at a greater necessity of having Your Majesty at *London* in Your Throne, than Your Majesty is; however, they will sooner break off the Treaty: But this is my Opinion, Your Majesty may do safely with Your Honour, and will satisfy this Article to answer, That though Your Majesty can never consent to this Article for Your Honour, or for other Reasons Your Majesty may please to alledge, Your Majesty will never call them over from beyond the Seas, where now they are, without the consent of them in Parliament; and this Variation will satisfy this Article. This is better for the Lords, may it please Your Majesty, than if the Article were expunged. For by this, the Lords are beyond the Seas by an implicate leave, and may upon Your Majesty's leave, have their Estates over: When, if they should come back into *England* without their consent in Parliament, as may be imagined, if this Article were expunged, they were in danger to be accused, as my Lord *Stafford* was, and in the like nature: And so if this Proposition of Your Majesties may satisfy, as I am sure it will, it is with Your leave, the safest, best, and most prudential way for the Lords, and for Your Advantage: And, can they have a better Advocate for them in Parliament than

than Your Majesty? This the King approves of.

For the other Article his Majesty made no Exceptions to, but was content to pass them generally without any Dispute, till the last Article, which was the taking away Bishops Root and Branch.

To this of the Bishops, my Opinion was, That your Majesty can never part with the Bishops for many Reasons, and in particular, in chief for Your Majesty's Coronation Oath: So I am confident, and Your Majesty, if You should try it, will find it, that they will not abate Your Majesty this Article. Therefore, in my Opinion, the only way for Your Majesty, with Your Majesties Pardon, is to declare, That though You cannot part with the Bishops for such and such Reasons, as Your Majesty shall think fit to alledge, yet Your Majesty being willing to do what may be possible on Your Majesties part, that may conduce to a lasting Peace, and Your Kingdom's Good, and to satisfy all Interesses, are willing to suspend the Bishops, till Your Majesty and Parliament in Parliament, shall think fit, whether there shall be Bishops, or no.

This his Majesty acknowledges, was no breach of his Coronation Oath. I told his Majesty, I was confident, this would be no prejudice to the Bishops, as things now stood; and that I knew, if his Majesty proposed to do this with this Variation, it would satisfy the Parliament in this very Article, or I would give his Majesty my Life; and Your Majesty, I hear, will hardly prevail with them to do less on this Article; nay, I am confident, they will do no otherwise.

His Majesty at last found it so; and tryed this way, when it would drive no other. And the Parliament voted the suspending of the Bishops to be satisfactory to the taking away the Bishops Root and Branch. So I told his Majesty, that with half an Eye it might be understood, that though they would be satisfied after this manner with a General Declaration of the King's Concessions for the present, yet that they could no sooner get the King home to the Parliament, but the Bishops would have been restored, before any Act pass for Pardon, or Ratifications of Concessions. For no Act for ratifying the Peace, can pass in Parliament to be valid, without the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; and when they have Your Majesty there, they will be glad, and do things the best way, and safest for themselves.

Well, says the King, I will speak with you to morrow after Dinner, and give you some Directions about the Bill for the *Court of Wards*, and you shall go to *London* about it, to secure my Money, as I will give you directions; and when you return to me again with that Business, you and I shall do something together to make an end of this Business, that I hope will satisfy the Parliament.

I withdrew my self till to morrow after Dinner; but the King came towards me, and asked me; Is there any thing that you are engaged in, that you have promised, I should do towards any Person? For I know you cannot do Business of this nature for me, but you must be engaged, and make Promises to several Persons of several Kinds; and I must tell you, that I shall be always curious to disoblige your Word in any Promise you have

have made, or make to any Person, let it be of what kind soever.

I humbly thanked his Majesty, and said, May it please Your Majesty, I am engaged in nothing at present so much, wherein I will give Your Majesty a Trouble at this time, as in a Promise I made to Sir *John Gell*, that I would prevail with Your Majesty to take him to special Grace and Favour, and to grant him Your most gracious Pardon, because he was very assistant to me with divers Members to obtain this Treaty to be moved, and does exceedingly repent his former Miscarriages to Your Sacred Majesty, and hath promised me he will merit Your Majesties Favour hereafter. Sir *John Gell*, answers his Majesty, I believe I know him better than you do, and have had more Experience of him. Come hither *Ned Walker*, I will tell you both a Tale of him, and it is a very real Truth; and so his Majesty was pleased to declare to Sir *Edward Walker* and me, how he got his Baronship of his Majesty, by Dissembling, and pretending in like manner that he was sorry, that ever he had been against me in the Ship Money; but for his Repentance, if I would be pleased to harbour a better Opinion of him, and grant him some mark of Favour and Honour, he would bring into my Assistance a Troop or Regiment of Horse, and he would prevail with some of the Gentlemen of the County of *Derby*, where he lived, to do as much: Whereupon, in hopes he would do this good Service to me, I made him a Baronet. Immediately after, within a Week, he went to *Northampton* into my Lord of *Essex*, who before, thought him not worthy to be Captain of a Foot Company, shews *Essex* his Warrant that had made him a Baronet; and

and upon that, *Essex* gave him a Commission to be a Colonel, and to raise a Regiment : And thus he continued against me shrewdly all this War, and kept *Derby* garisoned against me all the time of the War. So I believe, says his Majesty to me, he may deceive me as well as you, though you may oblige him never so much. I was ashamed to say any more of him, after the King had declared this horrid Unworthiness of him to *Sir Edward Walker* and me.

But after, his Majesty was pleased to say, *Ned Walker*, give this Gentleman Pen, Ink, and Paper, in your Chamber, and let him draw up himself what he promised, I should sign for *Sir John Gell*, or any other Person : He is my Friend ; I will have him, *Ned Walker*, draw his own Business himself that is between him and me always, because I have some special Reasons for it ; and bring your Papers to me your self to morrow after Dinner to my Closet ; for I will always disoblige of any Promise whatsoever it is, that you make to any Person, says his Majesty, that you may keep your word, and be able to do my Work, and as *Sir John Gell* behaves himself to you, I shall think the better of him.

I hope, says his Majesty, *Mr. Lisle* is my very good Friend, because I find he is civil to you ; I the rather think so. Sir, I will not delude Your Majesty ; I think you have not a worse Enemy. But however, you prevail with him if you can, says his Majesty ; and you know, I disoblige in any kind whatsoever. Sir, said I, he is a Person of that vast Ambition, that nothing will serve his turn, except it be to be Secretary of State, or Lord Keeper. Says his Majesty to me, if you find reason to promise either, I will make your Words
good,

good, and your Promise too ; and if it be to morrow Morning, you know , I have often told you so. I humbly thanked his Majesty for his special Grace and Honour to me ; made my obeizance, and took my leave of his Majesty, at this time with Sir *Edward Walker* , who came out of the Closet from the King with me, and was by all the while.

The next Day in the Afternoon, as soon as the King had Dined , I waited on his Majesty in his Closet, as his Majesty had appointed, where, after a little Discourse from his Majesty to me, he was pleased to tell me, upon better thoughts, He must desire me not to speak any thing to Mr. *Lisle* of the Secretary of State's Place ; for his Majesty had but one of those Places at present in his power, he said, and that he had some Resolution to dispose of it to Sir *Edward Walker* , who had taken a great deal of Pains and Care for him, and his Majesty understood nothing so proper for him.

So his Majesty was graciously pleased to sign me some Papers to disoblige me in a Promise I had made to Sir *Guy Palmes* of *Rutlandshire* ; His Majesty was pleased to sign a Warrant , to make him an *English* Baron , which his Majesty had promised him at *Oxford* ; but Sir *Guy Palmes* and his Son, dying both in a short time after, I never delivered away his Warrant. At the same time, his Majesty was pleased to sign me a Warrant for a Baronet for my self ; which, with other Papers of his Majesties, was after eaten by Mice, hiding them for fear behind a Wainscot, when my Father's House came to be searched by Parliament Officers.

But

But the King kept Sir *John Gell's* Pardon in his own Hands, I mean the Warrant, and afterwards sent it me privately lapped up, by Sir *Edward Walker*. But because, says his Majesty to me, you have promised Sir *John Gell* that I should take him to special Grace and Favour, as well as Pardon him, his Majesty would contrive some way suddenly to disoblige me in a more signal manner. That in less than a Week after, his Majesty declared to me, in the hearing of Sir *Edward Walker*, That his Majesty knew no way to disoblige me at present of that Promise, except it was to give him Sir *George Lisle's* Place in the Household, now Sir *George Lisle* was dead. I answered his Majesty, That his Majesty had graciously and highly obliged me already, in obliging Him and his Son, and is as much, and as great a Grace and Favour from Your Majesty as he expected, or I intended him to beg of Your Majesty for him. But you promised him, says the King, I should take him to special Grace and Favour; and though you might not intend him more than his Pardon, yet he understood those Words of yours to mean, I should do more for him, says his Majesty: Therefore draw up a Blank Warrant for Sir *George Lisle's* Place, and I will sign it; and do you dispose of it either to him, or whom you think fit, says the King; or otherwise as you please. And his Majesty further declared, That he did this to disoblige me in my Words, and to keep my Credit; and that Sir *John Gell* should take care of me until his Majesty was able. I asked his Majesty, if he would please to receive a Present from Sir *John Gell*? The King answered me before Sir *Edward Walker*, No, not of all things in the World,

World, he would suffer any thing first, not the least Matter from him; but let him disoblige himself to you, that I expect he should do. Immediately upon signing these Warrants and Papers in the Closet, the King commands me to make all haste to *London*, and see to get a Vote pass, that a Bill should be brought into the House to secure to his Majesty the Hundred thousand Pounds a Year the Parliament promised, instead of the *Court of Wards* to the King, which, said his Majesty, is Twenty thousand Pounds a Year more than ever I made of it; and then gave me directions for the Draught of the Bill: And if you can get the Bill to pass for the Hundred thousand Pounds a Year by the means of Mr. *Lisle*, and others, that the *Independents* Interests may not hinder it in the House, I know what I will do with the other Twenty thousand Pounds a Year, and I will make a good Allowance Yearly to you. It will be of a vast consequence to me, as I will order it, and of more advantage to my own private, than what hitherto I have made of my whole Revenue; besides, I never made above Fourscore thousand Pounds a Year composition of the *Court of Wards*, and that went chiefly towards the Payment of my Servants Wages: And I believe, when I have parted with it, the Nobility and Gentry will be the first will repent it, and will wish it had never been done.

For the Tenures *in Capite*, which is their concern, I will make them both thus labour for the passing this Act for the taking away this Court. I will help my self another way, and relieve the Crown in it upon the settling my Revenue, which shall be of more advantage unto me, to help

help me in Times of Necessity, and War, either Civil or Foreign, than now it is to the Crown for Strength by these Tenures, or any Aid can come to the Crown by them, and will help and preserve my Posterity better, as I will tell you how hereafter, when I shall instruct you upon the Draught of that Act for restoring my Revenue, and for further settling and augmenting the Revenues of the Crown. But I must tell you, I will have this Hundred thousand Pounds a Year for my own use, paid into my Privy Purse, to be disposed as I please, says his Majesty: I will give you directions how it shall be raised, and how it shall be paid to me, and you shall receive it for my Privy Purse. I have great reason to have it thus, parting with so great a Branch of the Crown, as the *Court of Wards* for it. And when you return to me with a Vote for a Bill, then you and I will consider together of a Draught, and Declaration, to answer the Propositions at one time, and make my Concessions without spinning out any longer time in Treating at all.

Sir, said I, the Parliament will be over-joy'd, now *Cromwell* hath beaten Duke *Hamilton's* Army, they are so afraid of *Cromwell*, and so necessitated for Your Royal Presence, to secure themselves: So that they are resolved, as soon as You are at *London*, to raise a Strength by the *posse Comitatus*, under the Sheriffs of *Middlesex* and *London*, which is Colonel *Browné*, and will put all *London* in a legal posture of War, for defence of Your Royal Person and Themselves, for fear lest *Cromwell* should rebel, and animate his victorious Army, which now is so bloodied and encouraged by this great Success,
espe-

especially when he finds his own Trick lost, and himself in danger to be questioned for fighting Duke *Hamilton's* Army without Orders. Besides, they have a way to make the Army moulder away from him. But, if Your Majesty will not make haste with Your Concessions, but delay time, in hope to get some Articles expunged, which they will, nor cannot grant Your Majesty as things now stand; though they will please Your Majesty with more hereafter, when they have Your Majesty at *London*: Then Your Majesty can ask either the Bishops again, Your Majesties Queen, and Royal Family, in more splendour than ever, the Banish'd Lords again, Your Majesties *Court of Wards* again, and whatsoever Your Majesties Heart can desire, by reason they now see their Errour, that by their endeavouring to make themselves Part sharers of Your Majesties Kingdoms and Government at their pleasures, by abusing Your Majesty by a Rebellion, and War; for they had no other ways left them to serve, and compass their ambitious Ends, since they knew for certain, Your Majesty had too much Judgment for them to attain their Desires by an Adulation or Flattering Design, to share Your Government, Your Honours, and Offices, at their Will. All their Successes are come to this, That they are now to be swallowed up by *Cromwell*, and to be Slaves to his Pleasure. I say, now they see their own Errour: When they have Your Majesty at *London*, they will dote upon Your Majesty, and in proper time, grant Your Majesty more than You can wish, with all Duty, and Love, to recover Your Majesties Affections and Kindness to them again.

Well,

Well; says the King, make haste to *London* about my *Court of Wards*, that I may make an end. Within four Days I returned to the King in the *Isle of Wight* privately, with a Vote to bring in a Bill to pass the Two Houses, for settling an Hundred thousand Pounds a Year on his Majesty, in lieu of the *Court of Wards*, any way as his Majesty shall approve: Which Vote was sent down to the Commissioners in the *Isle of Wight*, with directions to the Commissioners to settle upon the King Two hundred thousand Pounds a Year, rather than that should prove any impediment to his Majesties Concession of the *Court of Wards*.

The King being very much pleased to see the Parliament were willing to grant his Majesty Two hundred thousand Pounds a Year, in consideration of his *Court of Wards*, where his Majesty was afraid they would hardly have given him one By-Bill, and consented to pass a Bill to settle the same upon his Majesty, any way his Majesty should direct and desire; gave me command, to look to the Draught of the Bill to be according to his Directions; and says his Majesty, I will have this Money for my Privy Purse for my own use, as I told you before: But first I will have it into the Exchequer to be entred, as I will direct you hereafter, because I will not have it cheated; and then it shall immediately be paid me again into my Privy Purse, which you shall receive and look to; and you shall have the Office, and Keeping, and Managing of my Privy Purse, and transact my private and particular Affairs, and I will allow you Three thousand Pounds a Year out of this Money, both for the payment of my Debts, and Expences in my Affairs, says his Majesty, and for Your Maintenance and Care in
this

this Business, so soon as this Money is settled upon me by Act of Parliament, as an Additional Revenue in lieu of the *Court of Wards*. But I will amass, or treasure up this Money, or most of it, in the Bank, for my more private and more emergent Occasions, both of my Own, my Queens, and for my Younger Children, and their secret Expences. And, says his Majesty, I will make this Money of more consequence to me, having it paid to my Hands, as I will tell you how hereafter, than all my other Revenue besides; and I shall give you further directions for my Privy Purse, upon the settling my Revenue, and how I will have my Revenue settled, when I have a little more time to talk with you about it; for, if God bless me, hereafter I will never be without a private growing Bank of Money annually flowing in upon me, growing, and increasing by the Year, out of the Receipt of my Revenue and Exchequer, for my own secret and emergent Occasions, and which will curb the Insolences of Foreign Princes, impede their subtle Practices, which, says his Majesty, I have heavily felt since this Rebellion and War, countermand domestick Stipendaries, and promote my Foreign Intelligence. And this I will have annually done, because of the vicissitude of things of this Life, ready for my use, [my Publick Occasions first supplied,] and in my own custody, over and above my Publick Exchequer, which I have ever in my Necessity found, and in all times else, my Lord Treasurer and his Substitutes are always more master of than I my self: And therefore I shall hereafter take this provident care upon my self, says his Majesty, and you shall transact this for me,

as one of my most private Affairs, and of greatest Concern to me.

But now I must tell you, I sate yesterday in Council, to consider of my Treaty; and I acquainted my Council, That I had formerly advised so and so upon the Bills, whose Council, if I had been so fortunate as to have taken, I find for certain I had not been imprisoned.

This Gentleman, my Friend, I told my Council, had the Transactions of my Affairs in *Scotland*, and on this side too, and was a very instrumental Person, more than I would speak of in this Treaty: And I told them, That as this Gentleman's Advice was very happy to me upon the Bills, if I had taken it upon any other Man's, so I had the more reason to rely upon your Judgment now and then: I told them what you advised me upon the Articles, that though they were at as great or greater necessity, to have me at *London* for fear of *Cromwell* than I was, yet that you knew in your Judgment they would not abate me more or less than what you told me, and gave them your Reasons for all you said, and that you advise me to make my Concessions in one Declaration at one time, and not to Treat out any one Day of the Forty. For the Forty Days were but a Design upon me, to give *Cromwell* time to come up to *London*, and then it was most likely all would be lost.

To this my Council answered:

That this Gentleman acknowledges, that the Parliament are at a greater necessity to have me at *London* than I was my self, though I had reason enough: So it was likely in all reason, weighing their necessity; but that upon debate,
weighing,

weighing, if Your Majesty insists upon it, that they will not abate Your Majesty three or four Articles, or some of them, which Your Majesty neither in Honour nor in good Conscience can assent unto. But that if Your Majesty insists upon the Article of the Lords or Bishops, [for the *Militia*, the *Court of Wards*, and all the other Articles, I was resolved not to stand upon,] that they will not expunge that Article of the Lords, and that of the Bishops rather, than ruin themselves, considering further, that Your Majesty had parted with many of Your Rights in the rest, and were very kind to them in it. But this Gentleman tells you, they will not do it. These Reasons considered, and if Your Majesty insists upon it to the House, how, I beseech Your Majesty, can any Man living, or that Gentleman in particular, tell before-hand the certain Vote of Three hundred Men, when it is to be put to the Question what they will do? If Your Majesty propose, there is no Man living able to say, this for certain is to be depended on:

This I must confess, a little weighed with my Reason, says his Majesty, and it being their general Opinion, all of the same mind, only Sir *Thomas Gardiner* was for you, which I will tell you presently, I am persuaded to Treat out some of my Forty Days, and see what I can do with them, and to begin to morrow.

Now Sir *Thomas Gardiner* declared himself thus: That Sir, Your Majesty hath called me hither, to advise Your Majesty in a matter stupendous and difficult; that I should wrong myself very much if I should undertake it. If it were to resolve Your Majesty in a Case of Law, I believe I could do it as well as some here of

my Brethren : But in Affairs of this nature I am not able ; but only I desire to say this to Your Majesty, That Mr. *Bowring* of whom Your Majesty speaks to us, is one whose Parentage I know, I know his Breeding, I have not much acquaintance with the Gentleman, and I know his Interests ; so I persuade Your Majesty to be pleased to take that Mr. *Bowring* into Your Majesties Closet, and let him draw up Your Majesties Declaration, upon Your Majesties Answer with Your Majesties Concessions to the Articles, as he hath desired Your Majesty : I know the Man so well, and Your Majesty hath had some Experience of him, that I will adventure my Life, he shall make no mistake in Your Business, but conclude all without any Fault, and he is able to do it : Pray Sir, depend upon him, do it, and let me be blamed if things fall out otherwise than well. This is the best Advice I can give You : He understands Your Majesties Business better than all of us. So I have declared my Opinion and Advice to Your Majesty ; I pray you, make a private Business of it between Your Majesty and this Mr. *Bowring* in your Closet. So if any thing happen otherwise than well by Treating out any of the Forty Days, and thereby lose Your Majesty better Opportunity, I here wash my hands of it, and declare it is against my Judgment. Says his Majesty to me, and some of my Council were of Opinion, That if *Cromwell* did come up to *London* before the Forty Days were expired, yet when he saw how much I had consented to, in order to a well-grounded Peace, that it would be never the worse for me ; for any Interests would be glad to come in with me, says his Majesty.

Sir;

Sir, said I, I know whose Advice that is, and his Reasons for it, and Your Majesty will find he mistakes himself in it, and his Advice is only for his own Ends. Says the King, How can that be? He is an honest Man. Who do you think it is? Sir, may it please Your Majesty, I think it is Mr. *Thomas Cooke*, and no Man else. Why should he advise me? Any Interests will come in with me, and therefore I may safely Treat. How can it be for his own Ends, says his Majesty? Because all the World looks upon Mr. *Thomas Cooke* to be the only great Person with your Majesty; and while he knows the World hath this Opinion of him, the longer your Majesty is in Treating in this Place, all the Kingdom will make their Application to him for Places and Offices, and he hopes to have a sweet time of it, that he could wish your Majesties Treaty would last Forty Years to serve his own Turn.

This Resolution of his Majesties, by the Advice of his Council in my absence to *London*, while I was upon his Majesties Business of the *Court of Wards*, for a Bill to secure the Two hundred thousand Pounds contrary to his Majesties Resolution when he sent me to *London* three Days before, [being over born against me by his Council,] when his Majesty intended to make his Concessions in one Declaration, as I advised him, with those Variations to the Four Articles, which would never be consented to any other ways; or [as I often said,] I would give his Majesty my Life, if I mistook my self, if his Majesty should unfortunately be persuaded to try it. This Resolution of the King's to Treat, very much frightened me; for I would have given my Life for a Penny. By the Forty Days end,

I feared the King would be ruined ; and so it proved.

Well, says the King, I have appointed you to meet with Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr. *Thomas Cooke*, Dr. *Ducke*, and Dr. *Rynes*, in Sir *Edward Walker*'s Chamber, for your Assistants, to consult privately of my Affairs ; and I have given order, That you shall see the Journal-Book of my Treaty at your pleasure, because you are not publick amongst us at the Board ; and that you shall be truly informed by Sir *Edward Walker*, of any thing we do, the better to inform your Judgment ; and so I hope you will advise the best you can amongst them for me. I shall hear of it. Yes Sir, said I, I will and please You.

You will go to *London* to see the Bill prepared for my *Court of Wards* Money, and come down to me often, and see things here ; and come to me, says the King, as often as you can privately, wait on me at Dinner, and I shall know your mind at any time, when you would speak with me ; and his Majesty was pleased to give me a private Mark, to come to his Majesties Chamber at any time, lest I might have more great Occasions and Emergencies. And when I went to *London*, his Majesty desired me to bring him some Money down with me ; for he had no Money to send a Messenger and Letters into *France* to the Queen, nor to gratifie Persons that comes from her Majesty : But chiefly at present, he had occasion to send to Your Majesty, then in *Holland*, but had no Money to send a Person away, except what he borrowed of *Ned Walker* and *Tom Cooke*, and what *Ned Walker* could borrow for him, which was little, and their
Stocks

Stocks were but small. The Noblemen he could not abide to speak to for any, and the Duke of *Richmond* could not help him.

I went to *London* by his Majesties Command, and brought his Majesty a little Money. His Majesty immediately appointed a Messenger to Your Majesty into *Holland*; which he repented presently after, the Messenger being false; and so his Majesty was forced to send another presently after unto Your Majesty into *Holland*, to acquaint Your Majesty of the false Treachery of this Messenger; which false Person, as soon as the King had dispatched him away [having given him a considerable Piece of Money to bear his Expences.] to your Majesty with all speed into *Holland*; this false Messenger makes all haste to *London* first, [when the King thought he was gone Aboard for *Holland*,] and came to the *Boar's Head* in *Holborn*, and sent a private Messenger to Mr. *John Lisle*, to come to him with all speed, and he would discover to him the greatest Secret in the World. Mr. *John Lisle* could not come himself, but sent a Gentleman that waited on him in his Chamber, to whom Your Father's Messenger discourses his Message, which he was to carry privately to Your Majesty into *Holland*, to *Lisle's* Gentleman, one Mr. *Coleman*, who immediately did tell it me again. I made all haste to acquaint Your Majesties Royal Father of this unfortunate Messenger, and what he had done; and that he was now at *London* with *Lisle*. So his Majesty was fain to dispatch another to Your Majesty in *Holland*.

The Treaty went on *gradatim*, every day Concessions were made, the *Militia* consented to, the *Court of Wards* consented to, and many more Ar-

articles : But the Commissioners stuck at the Articles for the Lords. The King cannot consent to this Article for his Honour , against so many Persons of so great Worth, and Merit, and gave in his Reasons, which were sent up to the House, where they were resolved not to be accepted by Vore : So things were somewhat at a stand for a Day, or thereabouts. The King declares to me, [desiring to speak with me,] that the House would not expunge this Article ; they will rather break off the Treaty, though [says his Majesty,] I have been civil to them in most of the other Articles. I besought his Majesty to propose to do it with those Variations as I formerly spake of to his Majesty in his Closet , That though you cannot Banish the Lords according to that Proposition, it is against Your Honour, and all Honesty to do it, and so with Your Majesties leave and pardon, Your Majesty may alledge your own Reasons ; yet that You are content to go thus far with that Article and Proposition, as never to call the Lords over without their consent in Parliament. This I am confident will satisfy that Article, and begging Your Majesties pardon, since the Parliament will not lay aside this Article ; this in my Opinion, is the safest, and best way, and the most honourable to satisfy this Proposition.

As I remember, the King delivered a Paper to this Effect ; and it was voted satisfactory to this Article : [but my Papers are somewhat torn by accident in this Place.] All would not do ; this would not yet make an end : So the Treaty went on, the Forty Days being near spent. Sometimes when I came down to the Island, I waited on Sir Thomas Gardiner, Sir Edward Walker, and
Mr.

Mr. Cooke, where I was always urging them, that the King would be pleased to make an end in any one Day ; there was nothing now that his Majesty would insist upon but the Bishops, and if his Majesty would please to suspend them, as I had told his Majesty before, it would satisfy that Article, and he would get the Parliament neither to go nor drive any otherwise at this Treaty ; and time was very precious, because of his Majesties coming to *London* before *Cromwell*, that there might be time to raise the *posse Comitatus* for the defence of the King, if the Parliament and his Majesty were agreed ; *Cromwell* being now upon his march from *Scotland*. I desired them often in Council, to persuade the King to make an end, and Treat no longer for these Reasons, and suspend the Bishops, that all might conclude in time ; and I often endeavoured to prevail with his Majesty in private my self, and all would not do, this would not be understood. The Treaty went on Day by Day slowly upon particular Articles, till at last it came to be disputed a Week together, or more, whether Bishops were not *Jure Divino* ; which Dispute brought *Cromwell* nearer and nearer to *London*, and nothing to prevent him.

Very often in the intervals, I waited on his Majesty in private, where his Majesty was pleased to declare to me in these words, That Sir *Edward Walker* had moved his Majesty in my absence for a Prothonotaries Place at Common Law, that is now void, in which you were bred ; but I told him, I knew he moved me without your knowledge, which he confess'd : For I said, you had no need of an Advocate to me, and I chid him for it, and that I had other Business with you
more

more near my self; and when time should serve, I had both a Place for you, and Honour too, and that you knew your self: And if it please God [says his Majesty,] I live, I shall be as vigilant in raising you and your Family, as my Father was for his great Favourite; and this his Majesty was pleased to speak, with more Expressions and Grace, than my Modesty will here give me leave to write, which was in these words:

‘ And I make no question, but Sir *Edward Walker* in Honesty and good Conscience, is as well able
 ‘ to give Your Majesty an account, how honourable an intention Your Majesties Royal Father had
 ‘ to prefer me, as Mr. *Thomas Cooke* was able to
 ‘ accuse me of, and declared it of me at a Committee where he was examined concerning the
 ‘ King’s Affairs, to get his Liberty of the pretended Parliament when he was a Prisoner in the
 ‘ Tower; for which I had been put to Death, if
 ‘ it had not been for Sir *Nicholas Love*.

I thanked his Majesty for this Encouragement and Favour, and that it concerned me many ways to persuade his Majesty to make an end of this Treaty, though my Lord *Say* persuaded his Majesty he would prevail to get the Article against the Bishops wiped out: His Majesty would find it was but a Delusion of the Lord *Say*’s to get time for the Army, for he was *Cromwell*’s Friend. Yet I could not prevail with the King to make a Conclusion, but they must proceed to argue whether Bishops were *Jure Divino*.

Yet I often told his Majesty between his Majesty and me, that when I first acquainted his Majesty at *Caresbrooke Castle*, that his Majesty might have Council, my intention was, that his Majesty should never advise with them, nor make
 use

use of them, as to be ruled by them; but because his Majesty of necessity in this juncture of Affairs, must part with some of his Rights, which would be a great thing in the Eye of Posterity, when future Actions are to be much guided by Precedent, and no Man understands his Majesties necessity but himself, to get into his Throne again: So it was good to have a Council by him, to save his Reputation to Posterity, that After-Ages might not blast him with Pusillanimity hereafter upon Chronicles, but that it might be said of him then, and upon Record, What his Majesty did in the *Isle of Wight*, his Majesty did by the Advice of Council: But that his Majesty should design his Business upon his own Judgment, which his Majesty would find in the End, would prove more Elegant and Exquisite for his own Safety and his Kingdoms Good, than in such smart Affairs to depend upon the multifarious Opinion of divers Men. Yet if his Majesty would really depend upon their Advice, I told his Majesty always, I feared they would put his Majesty upon such Formalities and Debates, till by Delays, and spending Time, all would be lost, because they did not understand the present interests of Things, and so would make Mistakes for want of looking into the Intreague of Affairs.

But now finding all the Forty Days would be Treated out, and the Days for arguing, whether the Bishops were *Jure Divino* being begun, which would make an end of the Forty Days, and *Cromwell* with his Army be got to Town; I pondered with my self, and thought, I must go another course, for this was not to be help'd: And by the Forty Days end, when *Cromwell* came nearer, and nothing would be abated, and Time spent,
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the King must look another way to save himself, and by that time he would think so, which I was confident he would, when his Majesty saw the Face of Things; and all Persons alter for fear of the Army, both at *London* and in the *Island*. Hereupon I thought it was prudence in me, to be providing the King some Gold, in order to the helping his Majesty away, without telling him of it, as soon as his Majesty saw his own Danger, which I was very confident would be very suddenly. Whereupon I went to *London*, and provided Money ready, but said nothing to the King of it yet.

A little before I came down to the *Island* again, the Dispute between his Majesty and the Divines was ended, and about a Week spun out to no purpose; for the Commissioners were still to exact a Concession for the taking away the Bishops according to their Article and Instructions. His Majesty Answers, He could not consent, and gives in his Reasons. The Commissioners sent the King's Reasons up to the House: The House would not accept of them, but voted, That his Majesty should be desired to yield to that Article for taking away the Bishops; and so voted a Day more to be added to the Forty, and so to end, hoping that the King would consent: But his Majesty insisted upon his Oath of Coronation, and for that Oath he could not consist.

Whereupon, by chance, I coming up by Five of the Clock this Morning into the King's Presence Chamber, where all his Majesties Council stood all by the Wall, all along the Room, very melancholly: I retreated my self with all speed; but the King seeing me, called after me to come to him; but seeing me somewhat shy, turned

turned to his Council, and said, There is no Man here shall do you any wrong : Upon which, the King's Council all bowed to his Majesty. So the King took me aside to the Window, and asked me, If I had seen his Paper he was to deliver in to Day about the Bishops ? for this was the last Day. I answered, No, and please Your Majesty : Then the King opened the Paper, and bid me read it : But turned to Mr. *Cooke*, and asked him, What was the Reason I did not see that Paper the last Night ? Mr. *Cooke* answered, So I might if I would. But Mr. *Cooke* had been a great while angry at me, for saying, It was long of him in chief, the King had not made an end without Treating out the Forty Days.

When I had his Majesties Paper, I found the King had concluded, That he would not part with the Bishops by no means, by reason his Majesty was obliged to maintain them by his Oath of Coronation. And now I will tell you, says his Majesty softly to me, leaning close himself to my Face, If I should part with them at the Parliaments instance, as they argue it with me, there will be no danger ; this may be. But another Parliament may depose me for Breach of my Coronation Oath, or doing the Bishops any Injury, as things now stand ; therefore in prudence, I think I had better adventure my Treaty, wherein I have done more already than could well in reason be expected at my Hands, then by this way to hazard my Crown.

Your Majesty, I replied, hath very good Reasons for this : But yet Your Majesty is assured, they will have this Article satisfied of the Bishops, or that they will break off to the confusion of the whole Treaty ; and *Cromwell* is now coming

coming to *Windsor Castle* with the Council of Officers, and God knows what the Event may be ; and Your Majesty hath but one Day left to conclude all with Honour, and to ratifie the Concessions, or [with Your Majesties leave] all is lost. With Your Majesties leave and pardon therefore, if I might persuade Your Majesty to lay aside these Reasons of Your Coronation Oath ; but yet Your Majesty is willing to suspend the Bishops, till Your Majesty and the Parliament in Parliament shall think fit, whether there be Bishops or no ; and I will give Your Majesty my Life if this does not satisfie this Article. And this you may safely do without any breach of your Coronation Oath, or doing the Bishops any Injury, as things now stand : And when Your Majesty shall no sooner in Parliament, to pass Acts in Parliament, to pass Acts of Pardon and Grace to ratifie the Treaty, but they will be glad to call in the Lords Spiritual. Well, says the King, I will try this way, and see what it will do ; but stay you here till I come again.

The King said nothing to his Council, who stood all in the Room ; but calls *Cooke* to him, takes him into his Closet, and makes him write a new Paper, That his Majesty was willing to suspend the Bishops for Three Years, till his Majesties Parliament should think fit, whether there should be Bishops or no. His Majesty came presently out of the Closet with this Paper new writ, shewed it to me in the Window in the Presence Chamber, and bid me read it ; but Mr. *Cooke* gave me a base look. I told his Majesty I did not understand the Three Years, and the Parliament might perchance stick at Three Years ; for naming no Time, but till Your Majesty and the

the Parliament shall think fit, might give the Parliament hopes, the Suspension might last for ever, and so please them better; and perchance it might fall out between Your Majesty and Them in Business, the Suspension might not last a Week. Yet Your Majesty may send it from the Board to *London*, to the Parliament thus; I am very confident it will prove satisfactory to this Article. I would Your Majesty had been pleased to have done this at first in one Declaration, as I would fain have persuaded Your Majesty, and not to have Treated one Day; I believe Your Majesty must needs think, it had been better. Nay I know, says his Majesty, now it had been better.

The King with his Council went immediately away into the Treaty House, but his Majesty never read or opened this Paper to them. The King delivers in this Paper to the Board, as his last Paper in Answer to the Bishops, and it was the utmost his Majesty would do, or was resolved to do upon that Article, he said. The Commissioners sent it up to the Parliament, who voted this Suspension for Three Years to be satisfactory to the Article for taking away the Bishops Root and Branch, and further voted, That his Concession against the Bishops, and all his Majesties other Concessions, were satisfactory, and sufficient to a lasting and well-grounded Peace.

The Treaty ends, the Commissioners make all haste away from the Island to the Parliament at *London*, being a mixt number of *Independents* and *Presbiters*, some for Fear, and some for Joy; yet most of them were in a Fear, because of the Armies coming so near *London*, at whose Mercy they now were; but they hoped well. The
King's

King's Council shifted for themselves for fear. Various Reports came every hour to the King in the *Isle of Wight*, several odd and dangerous Conclusions, that were resolved by the Council of Officers at *Windsor*, and in other Places.

His Majesty took his leave of his Council, because they would haste to *London*; for they were generally afraid, by reason the Council of Officers sat close at *Windsor*, and all the Army close about *London*. His Majesty commands Sir *Edward Walker* to send me to him after Supper. I waited on his Majesty in the Presence Chamber, where his Majesty, after he had away his Servants to Supper, leaning upon the Table, reads a Diurnal, and turning back to Mr. *Murrey*, who was then waiting behind him, commands him to leave him for a while: When *Murrey* was step'd aside, his Majesty calls me to him, leans his Back to the Hangings, and stoops low to my Face, and says,

Now *Jaek Bowring*, I have parted with many of my Rights, and made my Concessions in every Point as you advised me, and ended my Treaty; but God knows what the Event will prove.

I thought, says his Majesty, I might happily have satisfied all Interesses: What is your Opinion? Deal clearly with me. Sir, I should have thought very well of it, I answered, if Your Majesty had concluded it at the beginning of the Forty Days by Declaration, before *Cromwell* had marched with his Army from *Edenburgh*. If Your Majesty had been so fortunate, *Cromwell* had been prevented from coming to *London* long before now, and all *London* in a posture of Defence for Security of Your Royal Person, and Your Majesty Inthroned.

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I am sure, says the King, if I had taken thy Counsel upon the Bills, I have lived to see, and know since, I had not been imprisoned. And now, had I taken thy Advice again upon this Treaty, which my Council dissuaded me from, telling me, How can that Gentleman tell beforehand the uncertain Votes of Three hundred Men? When now at length they see, we could not get one tittle abated more or less, than what you told me at first, upon any one Article: And so, had I made my Concessions in one Declaration, as you would have had me, and at one time, I find by this time I had been settled in my Throne. And this I have said to my Council since my Treaty, and do believe I had been much more a happier Man than I fear I shall be now. Therefore, if God bless me with my Dominions, I will not settle my Kingdoms without thy Advice, and this I have said to my Council since my Treaty.

What do you think is fit for me to do now? I looked about me, and then I kneeled to his Majesty, and said, For God's sake to go away, for fear of your Life. At which time, his Majesty took his Handkercher in his Hand out of his Pocket, and wiped his Eyes, and wept. His Majesty presently made Answer to me, I cannot stir from this Place, for I have no Money, and I have borrowed all I can already, except you help me. Sir, said I, if it be your Majesties pleasure but to spare me till to morrow Night, or the next Morning, I will bring your Majesty some Gold; I have provided it already. Pray do so, says the King. Whither would you have me go? After some little Pause, I told his Majesty, to *Fersey*, in my Opinion would be the best place; where, if his Majesty pleased, I would wait on him, and I

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would

would provide his Majesty a good Ship of Strength, and a Fleet, for I had some little Interests in the Navy, which now his Majesty was in the Island, I had gotten on Colonel *Rainesborough* before I went into *Scotland*, for fear of the worst, and I would lay the Ship before *Wotton Park*, which was *Lisle's* by a Creek, where no body could come so well as my self, and his Majesty might take Ship there safely: From *Jersey* to *Guernsey* his Majesty might retire at his pleasure, if he found himself in any danger to the revolted Ships, or his Majesty might command the Ships under Prince *Rupert*, to lye about the Island. But I believe your Majesty will find no occasion for them; for there is one Mr. *Lisle* that was made Vice-Admiral, and set Colonel *Rainesborough* on Shoar, and who was placed there for an opportunity to serve your Majesty, and was privy and confederate to the going away of the Revolted Ships, and hath promised me upon any Opportunity to serve your Majesty, and hath sworn to it, whensoever I will speak the least word to him; that he will recover the Honour of his Family, and will deserve it of your Majesty; and your Majesty will find, upon my Letter to him, he will be your Majesties true Subject, and all the Navy are ready to go with him, where he commands, the Confusion at Land is so great. Therefore I can assure your Majesty, you need not fear getting thither very safe, the rather if I shew my self to the Lieutenant, and and Vice-Admiral *Lisle*. The King observing Mr. *Murray* to look into the Room, went away very suddenly from me.

I went to *London* that Night with all speed, but I was somewhat longer before I returned to the

the Island than I promised his Majesty. I waited on his Majesty at my Return by Five of the Clock in the Morning at his Majesty's Bed Chamber, within a Day, or Two. His Majesty hearing somebody about the Door, he opened it, where one Mr. *Leveston* [as I was told after,] was putting up some Linen upon his Majesty's Bed. But by the Window behind the Door, was the Duke of *Richmond*, his Majesty being ready [as I supposed] to go Abroad. As soon as I had made my Obeysance, What, says his Majesty to me, have you brought me any Money? Yes, and please your Majesty, I have it here. His Majesty came to my Side with his Side, and put his Hand near my Pocket; so I delivered a Purse of Gold to his Majesty; his Majesty put it up in his Pocket privately. Says the King, How much is it? I answered, Two hundred Pounds. Says his Majesty, Have you any more here? Yes Sir, I have much such another quantity of Gold in my other Pocket. The King turns himself to me on the other Side to my Pocket, where I delivered his Majesty such another quantity of Gold in a Purse. How much is it, says his Majesty? Two hundred Pounds more, I said. But the King took it more openly: And when his Majesty had it in his Hand, he immediately gave it to the Duke of *Richmond*, and commanded him to lay it by for him. This very much daunted me, for fear it should be told; but my Hopes were in his Majesties going away with me. The King whispers the Duke of *Richmond*; The Duke comes to me, and tells me, The King commands me to kneel; Then I kneeled: The King, in the Presence of the Duke of *Richmond*, Mr. *Leveston*, and others, bestows the Honour of Knighthood upon me:

For Mr. *Leveston*, at the same instant, opened, where there were divers Persons; the King, in anger, commands Mr. *Leveston* to shut the Door. His Majesty was pleased to say, That he conferred that Honour upon me, as a Testimony of his great Favour and Kindness to me, and for my Love and Care for him; and was pleased to say further, That he was now in Council privately with the Duke of *Richmond* about some Letters: Therefore his Majesty commanded me to wait on him after Dinner in his Closet, and follow him in as soon as he had Dined; and, says his Majesty, I will talk further with you.

I retired to Sir *Edward Walker*'s Chamber, as my custom was, when I came from *London* always. I was loth to tell Sir *Edward Walker*, that I had waited on his Majesty already, because I thought to have been more private in it at this time. Says Sir *Edward*, now I am sure the King will be in a good Humour; for he is always so, and well pleased, when you come to him, and signs us business too; he hath expected you this day or two. Sir *Edward* returns immediately to his Chamber, and says to me, You have been with the King this Morning already. Sir, Why would not you tell me before? The King is in a very good Humour; and I thank God, Doctor *Cade* in a little richer condition than he was in last Night. So Sir *Edward* told Dr. *Cade*, he must go to Mr. *Cook*, and bid him come to him presently. For the King, says Sir *Edward*, hath given me some Gold to pay Mr. *Thomas Cooke* for a Debt, which his Majesty owed him; and hath paid some to me my self, which his Majesty borrowed of me the last Night, the Three Pounds for Parsons; and some his Majesty had

had of me a Fortnight ago ; he hath paid me all ; and told me, turning himself to me, that I brought him Gold this Morning, which, says *Sir Edward*, was well done, and came in season ; for I protest, all of us here could not make up the King last Night, more than Three Pounds, if it had been to have saved his Life. I immediately denied I brought the King any Money or Gold. *Sir Edward* wondred at me, and said, I protest the King told me you gave it him, and a good quantity too : So then I held my Peace, and smiled. Well, says *Sir Edward*, it is well done : *Dr. Cade* being by, he hugs me, and said, I hope the King will go away now ; I am sure it is no Fault of yours else ; and I pray God he may go with you, said the Doctor. But I was most exceedingly afraid ; only I considered, neither of them Two but was trusted with my Life over and over, and the King was resolved the Doctor should go with him to send of a Message : But I desired both the Doctor and *Sir Edward* not to speak one word of this matter to *Mr. Thomas Cooke*. Says *Sir Edward*, Pray God send all things for the best ; and God bless you, do the best you can for the King ; he is resolved to make you a very great Man. I believe Doctor, we stay not very long in this Island.

This Day before Dinner, about Ten a Clock, came *Sir Peter Killegrew* to *Newport* to the King in the Presence Chamber, and spake with the King, I being by, and divers other Persons : The King inquiring, What News ? and from whence he came ? Without much circumstance, he said, He came from *London* yesterday, and to day from *Windsor*. But, Sir, I am loth to tell your Majesty how things are like to be with your

Majesty, if God does not please to preserve you miraculously ; and yet, says he, I came on purpose to let your Majesty understand it, that you may provide for your Safety in time. I may go to Prison for this : Sir, The Army have resolved at *Windſor* in Council, and in Council in ſeveral other Places at and about *London*, to take you out of the *Iſle of Wight* by force, and bring your Majesty to *London*, Try you for your Life, and Murther you Publickly.

His Majesty not at all daunted, answered, He could not believe they would Murther him ; and that he believed, it would be a more difficult thing for them to attempt any ſuch thing than was imagined, and moſt unſafe to themſelves. So Sir *Peter Killegrew* took his leave, and ſaid, He was confident he ſhould go to Prison for his part, if not to the Pot. Yet before Sir *Peter Killegrew* went his way, his Majesty was pleaſed to ſay further, and declare, That Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Commiſſioners is to bring me to my Parliament, and I have now agreed with my Two Houſes of Parliament. I muſt confeſs, he is a greater Soldier than I am ; yet I underſtand my ſelf ſo well, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* will find it a hard matter to bring me to *London* [now I have agreed with my Two Houſes of Parliament, both Lords and Commons,] by Force, and in cold Blood, to cut off my Head in the City of *London*. This his Majesty answered to Sir *Peter Killegrew* : Sir *Peter* made his Obeſſance, and went his way.

I waited on his Majesty after Dinner in his Preſence Chamber ; and as his Majesty went from Dinner into his Cloſet, his Majesty made me a private Sign to follow him into his Cloſet. As
ſoon

soon as I was in, his Majesty was pleased to tell me, He had received this Morning early, some Letters from a Friend Beyond Seas, wherein he was advised not to go out of the Island by any means, for it was not in the power of the Army to do his Majesty the least Harm, or to touch one Hair of his Head, and shewed me the Letter. So that, says his Majesty, if I should go with you now, as I thought to have done, and things fall out otherwise than well with me, and the rather because my Treaty hath had so fair an End, as you see by their Votes, That my Concessions are Satisfactory, &c. And especially, since I have received this Advice, [you guess from whence it comes,] I shall be alway blamed hereafter; and so told me some other more private and material Reasons, which I durst die, if ever they should happen. I answered his Majesty, And shall; if your Majesty be pleased, tell them to your Majesty; but thought not fit to write them in this Paper. And his Majesty further said, The Duke of *Richmond* was of the same Opinion with him; therefore, says his Majesty, I am resolved to stay here, and God's Will be done. I answered his Majesty, I was wonderful sorry for this his Resolution, having so fair a Way to go now, and so great an Occasion and Aggravation: And I must crave leave to tell your Majesty, That peradventure the Duke of *Richmond* might be afraid to advise your Majesty to go out of the Island, lest he might suffer in it by the Army; and your Majesty may easily discern, That the Army and the Houses will divide their Interesses: And Sir *Peter Killegrew* hath told your Majesty this Morning, in my hearing, and others, That the Army are resolved to destroy your Person, and to

Murther you : That in my Judgment, if your Majesty should retire your self yet for a while , and to send the Parliament word where you are by your Letters, and that you expect your Peace according to the Treaty , but are forced to retire for fear of the Army, which is in a nature fallen from their Obedience to both Houses of Parliament ; and therefore your Majesty hath just reason to suspect your Self in danger ; and so to take no notice of what Sir *Peter Killegrew* told your Majesty , that *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* , and their Mirmidons, have designed your Life. In all likelihood your Majesty may be safest this Way, and the Two Houses of Parliament greatly glad, and approve of your Retirement. For when your Majesty, which is the Prize both Houses aim at, is out of their reach, the *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, and all Foreign Agents and Solicitors to the Army, will be non plus'd, and private Stipendaries deceive their Masters, and perchance their Vizards with their Wages. The Officers of the Army will not be able, nor over-willing to lead the Army against the Two Houses of Parliament ; and the Lords and Commons will not be against your Majesty, because of your Concessions, and their own Danger. Here *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* will both lose their Trick, their bloody Trick again, and, I believe, will find it a hard matter to preserve themselves ; for every Officer, for fear, will detect them of their Design against your Royal Person, to clear himself, I, and deliver them up too, if the Houses insist upon it ; and your Majesty will be called for by your Two Houses of Parliament, and be placed both by the Houses and the People any way , and restored to your Royal Authority and Throne : That in my Judgment,

ment, if your Majesty will retire, both their Rogueries will out, and their Design against your Royal Person, and both Houses of Parliament will find it out, and they will be questioned for both, and *Cromwell* for fighting Duke *Hamilton* without Commission, and Orders and All will to pieces. But if they seize upon your Royal Person, they will do what they list with the Army, command them in what mischief they please, because the Army and Officers know, the Parliament [when your Majesties Person is in their power,] dares not squeek. And in this, no Person or Friend living from Beyond Seas, is able to advise your Majesty in reason for your Safety, because they are insensible of the mutability of Interesses, and various Occurrences of Things which happen new here every Hour.

Yet I could not prevail; his Majesty resolved to stay there, and take his Fortune, and God's Will be done: But declared to me, that however it might please Almighty God to dispose of him, he would acquaint the Prince, his Son, of all my Transactions and Services done for him, and he did not doubt but he would take care of me, of my Engagements for his sake, and be as good a Friend to me as he himself intended to be, if it pleased God to preserve him with Life; and would send the Princess Royal word by Mr. *Oudart*, how faithful and how serviceable I had been to him all along. And Mr. *Oudart* can tell your Majesty, that your Majesties Royal Father relied upon me principally to his last Breath, and that I waited on his Majesty in *Windsor Castle* in some Business dangerous to my Life, and was by him all the while at the High Court of Justice, [as they most traiterously stiled it,] and was next
to

to his Arm, by his own Command, as *Sir Edward Walker* can tell your Majesty, to assist his Majesty, and to bring *Sir Edward*, and other Friends, an account of what pass'd.

And I took my unfortunate leave of his Majesty in his Closet at *Newport*; but yet his Majesty charged me to stay at *Newport*, and not to go to *London* till [says his Majesty,] I see further.

Within an hour after I came from his Majesties Closet from the King, I understood that *Mr. Lisle* had been in the Island these three days, and came down to bury his Father *Sir William Lisle*, and had sent for me to come and speak with him, hearing by chance, that I newly came into the Island. I went back to his Majesties Closet to acquaint him with it; his Majesty charged me to bring him to kiss his Hand. I know, say his Majesty, *Sir William Lisle* his Father is dead. If he comes with you to kiss my Hand, [says his Majesty,] I will Knight him: I leave it to you to do what is fit; you know my mind.

I went to *Mr. Lisle* with his Servant, to his House at *Wotton Park*, and thought to have lain there that Night, but I could not persuade him to wait on his Majesty now he was come down into the Island, and to kiss his Majesties Hands: Yet I assured him, that I knew his Majesty intended a very great Favour for him, and that I know, and have been told it often, that his Majesty speaks graciously and kindly of him. *Lisle* answered, it was too late, and he durst not do it; and so told me, some part of the Army came the last Night to *Southampton*, and within a day or two at the most, would take the King out of the Island, and he feared worse; and therefore, wish'd me not to stay in the Island, lest I should

should be seized on, and undone. *I* tell you, says *Mr. Lisle*, for your own Preservation. Sir, said *I*, is it done with the Parliaments consent? He said, No, he believed not. Sir, said *I*, then the King might prevent this. Yes, says he, if he knew of it in time, and gravely nodded.

When *Mr. Lisle* was gone to Bed, *I* went back to *Newport*, but could not speak with his Majesty till the next Morning early; and then *I* acquainted his Majesty withal what *Mr. Lisle* said to me concerning his Majesties Danger, to be taken of force away out of the Island by the Army, which lay now at *Southampton* for that purpose; and that *Mr. Lisle* said to me by chance, the King might prevent them if he knew of it in time, and preserve his Life, which the Army was resolved upon; and that *Mr. Lisle* said, all this was intended without the Parliaments consent. However, his Majesty was resolved to stay in the Island, and not to stir, and God's Will be done, and for those Reasons his Majesty said he had told me before. And *I* would be glad to have the honour to tell your Majesty, but it is not fit to write them here.

I answered his Majesty, *I* believe, with your Majesties Pardon, it is but your Majesties apprehension, it never can happen so possibly. But it most certainly appears, if your Majesty does not suddenly provide for your own Safety, by going secretly away; your Majesty is certainly threatened by the Army with your Life. *Sir Peter Killegrew* hath told Your Majesty so. Your Royal Family is in danger to be ruined, besides Your Kingdoms, and Millions of other Men. Therefore, *I* beseech Your Majesty, for God's sake, to retire your self for a while from these Mens Malice,

Malice, to *Jersey* or *Guernsey*, or some other Place, as Your Majesty shall think fit. His Majesty made me no Answer, but admired Mr. *Lisle* would not come to to kiss his Hands, where he intended him so noble a Favour. So his Majesty charged me, for fear of the worst, that I should be sure to keep my Friendship with him, and with those People, and lest you should think, says his Majesty to me, it may do you harm hereafter. Sir *Edward Walker* shall bear you witness, it is my Commands to you for my own good. And his Majesty within an hour or two sent a Message to me by Sir *Edward Walker* to the same purpose, with a charge to me to keep my Interests with them.

This Day, as his Majesty sat at Dinner, there came a tall Man with his Spanner and Scarf, whereby every Man in the Presence, supposed him some Officer in the Army, no Man there knew him: The King inquiring in a secret Way, If any Person in the Presence knew him? No Man knew him. This Stranger placed himself confidently in his Majesties Face, yet he looked very seriously and mournfully upon his Majesty: At last a *French-man* belonging to *Hammond*, came to me in the King's Eye, and desired me to entertain that Gentleman with a Bottle of Wine and a Dish of Meat at the *Bull-Inn* in *Newport*, till his Master came home, who dined Abroad. For he was sent, the *French-man* said, to speak with his Master from the Head-Quarters at *Windsor*.

I took the Gentleman before the King [being glad of this Opportunity to know who he might be, that I might inform his Majesty,] and went away with him to the *Bull-head*, where the Gentleman

the Gentleman drank the King's Health, which I wondered at; and when I pledged him, immediately he said, Shall I see *Hammond* here after Dinner? I answered, His *French man* says so. Sir, says the Gentleman, Do you belong to the King or to Colonel *Hammond*? I answered, To neither; only I was desired by the *French man*, as I was an Acquaintance of Colonel *Hammond's*, otherwise a Stranger in the Island, to keep you company till his Master came to wait on you. Then said the Gentleman, I can discourse more freely with you: I am come from the Head-Quarters by command, to bring *Hammond* with me thither to Night. Sir, said I, he will hardly go out of the Island with you so far as the Head-Quarters. I'll warrant you, says he, he goes with me; for he is my Prisoner. So this Gentleman went down to see his Horse, and I went with him: I step'd a little aside, and sent for Dr. *Cade* to come to me, to send the King word, who expected to hear from me every moment.

Immediately comes Colonel *Hammond* to the *Bull Inn* Door on *Horseback*, and asks for the Gentleman that staid there to speak with him, but still sits on *Horseback*. The Gentleman came out of the Stable to the Door, only his Sword on, and says, Are you Colonel *Hammond* the Governour of the *Isle of Wight*? Yes, says Colonel *Hammond*, your pleasure with me? Says this Person, I am commanded to bring you a Prisoner to the Head-Quarters at *Windsor*? Sir, says *Hammond*, What Force have you in the Island? The Officer answered, My self only. *Hammond* drew something from him, and said, It is strange you should be commanded to bring me a Prisoner out of the *Isle of Wight*, where I have

have so considerable a Strength, and the charge and care of the King's Person, by Order of both Houses of Parliament. Sir, said the Officer, it is my Orders, and you had best obey them. Sir, says *Hammond*, it is at my choice; yet if you please to stay here a while, I will, upon my word, wait upon you presently. The Gentleman seemed content: And *Hammond* went to the King, and acquainted his Majesty with this Passage. The King wondered exceedingly at it; but his Majesty advised *Hammond* not to go with this Gentleman; for he might justly excuse himself, having the Guard of his Majesties Person in the Island, as the King told him: And, says his Majesty to *Hammond*, if you are taken away from your Command in the Island but for an hour, I am absolved of my word to stay here an hour: Therefore, says his Majesty, I desire you not to go out of the Island to the Head-Quarters with this Man. But *Hammond* said to the King, Yes Sir, and please your Majesty, I will go with him to *Windsor*, but I will return to your Majesty by to morrow at Noon. *Hammond* came back from the King to the Officer, and by themselves, only one Servant with him, went away with the Officer immediately to *Windsor*.

I went to his Majesty to acquaint him, That I saw *Hammond* take Horse, and set forward with Colonel *Eure* to go to *Windsor* within half an hour since; and there I found very many Friends and Gentlemen persuading his Majesty to go out of the Island, now Colonel *Hammond* was gone, his Majesty was absolved of his Word to stay in the Island; but no Man could prevail with his Majesty to stir. I acquainted his Majesty, That Colonel *Eure* told me, he had a Regiment of
Horse

Horse at *Southampton*, and some Foot at *Titchfield*; this he told me amongst other Discourse, as he was at Dinner, and while he staid for *Hammond*. I found by his Discourse, that he would Land some of them in the Island as soon as he could get Colonel *Hammond* over to *Windsor*; and therefore I did beseech his Majesty [for in my Opinion, nothing could be better nor more safe for his Majesties Preservation,] than to go away within an hour or two out of the Island, whilst *Eure* was busie in securing *Hammond*, to avoid all Danger, because the Army had threatned his Life. I could within these three hours procure, and lay a Vessel in a Creek by *Lisle's* Park, to wait upon his Majesty: And I told his Majesty, I believed *Hammond* would be made a Prisoner, and not return again to the Island, because I observed, Colonel *Eures* said to his Face, that he was to bring him as his Prisoner to the Head-Quarters at *Windsor*. However, I could not prevail with his Majesty by any means: He was pleased to say, I knew his Reasons for it, and he would take his Fortune.

As soon as *Eures* had got over from *Cows* to *Titchfield* with Colonel *Hammond*, he dismounts him, puts him into a Hackney-Coach brought thither for that purpose, and with a small Guard sends this great Governour *Hammond* to *Windsor Castle* a Prisoner, and his Horse back again into the Island, where Colonel *Hammond* never returned to his great Command in the *Isle of Wight*.

Night being at hand, *Eures* returns with all haste by *Cows* Harbour into the *Isle of Wight*; by which time, a Troop of Horse and a Company of Foot were conducted into the Island, by one
Cobbett

Cobbett and *Merriman*, from *Southampton*, and Landed at *Cows Harbour* in the *Isle of Wight*, by Eleven of the Clock, which this *Eures* commanded to *Newport*, and commanded *Mr. Mildmay* from his Lodging to shew him where the King's Chamber was; and so in the Name and by the Command of General *Fairfax* and the Council at *Windsor*, *Eures* assisted by *Cobbett* and *Merriman*, takes the King out of his Bed at *Newport*, and hurries him over to *Hurst Castle* about Six a Clock that Morning, where the King [as I think] was shut up near Ten Days, or all out, and put away all Persons and Servants about him, except *Mildmay*.

The Parliament protested against the Army [that was grown now Imperious, and would own no Superiour,] for seizing on the King, and taking of his Majesty by Force out of the *Isle of Wight* to *Hurst Castle*, and voted a Letter to *Fairfax*, to charge him to recal his Letter to Colonel *Eure*, which was to seize on the King, and to Command *Fairfax* to command Colonel *Eure* to return the King to *Newport*, and to put the King in the same Freedom as his Majesty was in when *Eure* took his Majesty into his power, and to restore *Hammond* to his Command and Charge. But instead of obeying the Command of the Lords and Commons, the King was violently removed from *Hurst Castle* to *Windsor Castle*, where his Majesty was kept close in Lodgings in the Upper Court, with a great Guard at the Chamber-Door, and sometimes in his Chamber, under the Command of one Colonel *Tomlinson*, as I was told; *Mildmay* waiting upon his Majesty as Carver, and one *Muschampe* as Cup-bearer, and no other Servants as I could hear of.

I adven-

I adventured to wait on his Majesty in *Wind-
sor Castle*, and was fortunate in it, as Mr. *Ou-
dart*, [where no Friend living but my self came in
the sight of him, but was threatned within two
or three Days after to be put to death for it,] to
acquaint the King of some Success of vast impor-
tance to his Majesty, and what Foreign Solici-
tations were made to the Army against him; and
by the favour of *Mildmay* and *Tomlinson*, was
most fortunately left for some time with the King
privately by my self, *Mildmay* being my Friend,
only a Lady with me, which I carried, for fear if
they should not admit me to come so near as to
speak with his Majesty a private Word, this La-
dy by kissing his Hand, and his Majesty graciously
Saluting her again, that she might by that Oppor-
tunity convey in that moment of time a word or
two in his Majesties Ear; which she did.

The King immediately sitting down to Dinner;
I had the Honour to wait and see his Majesty all
the while he eat at Dinner; when the King had
dined, *Mildmay* pretended to Mr. *Tomlinson*, to
leave the Lady for a while a little, to look upon
the King to please her, because, he said, she was
a Young Lady, and me to wait upon her until
their Dinner was served upon the Board; and
then they would call us both to dine with them.
Tomlinson and *Mildmay* left us both with the
King, and shut the Door, where his Majesty first
lamenting his own Misfortune privately in my
Ear, was pleased to give me command to stand
by him at his Tryal, to assist him, and several
other Things in charge and command; but in
particular, commanded me to acquaint your Ma-
jesty,

M

jesty, which way he intended to settle his Revenue, as a Matter equivalent to his *Militia*, if not before it, and with the Advantages in amassing for your Majesties own private and particular Good, as his Majesty by his great Experience, had most laboriously designed them for himself, if it had pleased God to have blest'd him with Life, to persuade Your Majesty to let it be done, and to do it for Your Majesty; it being, as His Majesty always said, the most principal Foundation, and part of Your Majesties future Welfare and Happiness; and told me, and shewed me a Cipher or Character under His Majesties own Hand, wherein, amongst other Business, he had written to Your Majesty of me, and gave me a Duplicate of a Key to the Cipher written in his Majesty's own Hand, that I might be able upon all Occasions, if it should please God, he should be otherwise than, &c.

CÆTERA DESUNT.

An Advertisement written to a Secretary of the Lord Treasurer's of England, by an English Intelligencer, as he passed through Germany towards Italy, concerning another Book newly written in Latin, and published in divers Languages, and Countries, against Her Majesty's late Proclamation, for Search and Apprehension of Seminary Priests, and their Receivers.

Also, of a Letter written by the Lord Treasurer, in Defence of his Gentry and Nobility, intercepted, published, and answered by the Papists, Anno Dom. 1592.

Loving S I R,

IF my former Letters written to you from Middleburgh, Collon, Heidleberg, and Frankford, as I passed by these Places, have come safe to your Hands, then have you understood by them the Estate of Affairs, as I could learn them in so short a Stay, as the continuance of my Journey permitted me to make in every of these Cities. I wrote in all my former, of the great Variety of Books in *English* and *Latin*, are in making against the last Proclamation of her Majesty, published in *November*, for searching out, apprehending, and punishing of Seminary Priests and Jesuits, &c. which Proclamation seemeth to have so netled the Papists, that there is no other

talk almost but of this Combat of *England*. Our course of *England* hath divers that approve it not, [though otherwise no Papists,] for that they think it both troublesom and dangerous, &c. I got for Money the right of a Book, and in some few Nights I took out all the Sum and chief Effect thereof, sent hither by a certain principal Person to be reprinted, and do send it herewith unto you, promising also to send the whole Work as soon as ever it shall come forth, &c. And in truth, if I shall tell you my Opinion about the hasty spreading of this Book, there are so many Points of Curiosity and hidden Histories touching our Estate discovered in the same, and so many Personal Causes, Conditions of Men, and secret Affairs unfolded, [whereof Man's Nature, partly by desire of Novelty, partly by corrupt Inclination to hear willingly other Mens defects, is greedy to understand,] as I marvel not that Printers make great Expedition to gain thereby. The like I find in the late History of *Saunders* in *Latin*, *De Schismate Anglican*. for that it contained Matter of Curiosity and Novelty in Personal Affairs, is printed again in divers Languages. But for this Book against the Proclamation, I do assure you, it is the most sharp, bitter, and odious thing, that ever I think was written by the Papists, thought that the Writer pretend great Modesty, and useth not open railing Terms, but by a close, fluent, and cutting Style, and by discussing of many and curious Particularities, and by pretending to prove all he saith by our own Books, Laws, Chronicles, and Records; he filleth his Reader with infinite desire to read all throughout; he putteth down the whole Proclamation turned into *Latin*, by Parts or Sections, [which is another

Curiosity

Curiosity that other Books observeth not ;] and he answereth the same by several Heads distinctly ; and in the end, he putteth in *Latin* the Articles annexed to the Commission for Instruction to the Commissioners, &c. He putteth down in his Answer, *A Letter of my Lord Treasurer's written with his own Hand*, [as this Fellow avoucheth,] *written from Westminster the 10th of January last, written to one in the Low Countries, &c.* The Writer maketh himself one *John Philopatri* Priest and Divine, that hath studied at *Rome*, and descended of Times past of *English* Blood ; but he that will read the Book [which is some eighteen or twenty Leaves of printed Paper, or more,] will easily see that he hath lived very lately in *England*, or else is very extraordinary instructed in the Affairs thereof ; and when I consider, that *Philopatri* in *Greek* signifieth a Lover, or Friend of his Country, I easily see the Name is but borrowed, and so make account, it may be taken up in their sense by any of our *English* Papists, &c. This Extract that I now send, if you think good, you may present to our good Lord and Master in my Name ; tho' in truth, the Tooth and Stomach of the Writer seemeth to be so specially great against his Lordship above all others, and toucheth him so bitterly in so many places, that I am ashamed, and half afraid also that it should be given to his Honour on my behalf ; yet I could not with my Duty and Allegiance, but advertise the Matter as I find it ; and so have I done in the Abbreviation, taking out every thing as near as I can in sense, tho' not in words, as in the Book it lyeth, and that in more sweet and temperate manner than there it is set down, culling out only the Heads of the

most principal Matters, and leaving the Discourse, Declarations, and Proofs of the same, which are in truth, more piercing, plausible, and popular, than will easily be imagined, but by reading the whole: And in one word, believe me Sir, that it is a very pestilent Book; and so, I pray, advertise his Lordship, &c.

First, In the Preface he takes upon him to discover the true Causes of this Proclamation, the King of Spain's Preparation of Wars, the lack of Money in *England*, and the Art to get it this way, by feigning Terrour and Troubles at home. *Secondly*, He sheweth what Modesty and Humility the Catholicks have used hitherto in their own defence, alledging, &c. upon hope, that some more clement and gentle way would be taken by Her Majesty and Council; but seeing by all their submission they have profited nothing, he purposeth to deal more plainly in this his Answer, than others have done heretofore, promising notwithstanding, the Modesty that shall be convenient for the Time, Persons, and Matter he handleth.

The First Head concerneth these words, [*By the Queen*;] where he examineth whether so many fierce and cruel Laws and Proclamations against Catholicks, do proceed of Her Majesty's own Inclination, or no; or, by the instigation of others, for their own Commodity, abusing Her Majesty's Sex and Age at the Beginning; whereunto he rather yieldeth, and nameth five or six principal Men the Causes and Instruments of all Misery to *England*, as he termeth it, &c.

These he affirmeth to have been Sir Nicholas Bacon, my Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Christopher Hatton,

ton, of whom, he saith, he will tell their Beginnings, their Entrance with the Queen, their manner of Proceeding, their Actions, and their Endings, observing the Order rather of their Deaths and Falling, than of their rising to Honour; for that, he saith, the remembrance of this Day is more joyful to good Men, than that of the other, and for that my Lord Treasurer is the only Man of all the five that now liveth, he reserveth his Story for the last place of all.

He sheweth, for Sir *Nicholas Bacon* and my Lord Treasurer, the one helping the other by the Assistance of Sir *Anthony Cooke* their Father-in-Law, and Sir *John Cheeke* King *Edward's* School-master, came both first in Favour: That Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* Father, Servant to the Abbot of *Bury*, and Keeper of his Sheep and Cattell, put his Son to *Grays Inn*, where first he was Under-Butler, and after, by the Augmentation Court and Attorneyship of the Wards, came to be Lord Keeper, wherein he shewed himself so corrupt and partial for Bribery, as never Man before or since in that Place: For which he alledgeth a Protestation of *Plowden* the famous Lawyer, made at the *Chancery Bar*, *Bacon* there present, That he would never return thither so long as so corrupt a Judge should sit in that Place, which he performed. He addeth other particulars touching the Life and Death of Sir *N. Bacon*.

Of my Lord of *Leicester*, the variety of Fortune which he saw, and proved in his Life; born and brought up in all Abundance and Felicity, and after, himself in extreme Calamity; his Father and Brother being put to Death, and himself condemned, but Fortune turning again, lifted him up higher than ever before; but all to the

worse; for he had never been so wicked, if he had not been so potent. The Son of a Duke, Brother of a King, Nephew of an Esquire, and great Grand-child of a Carpenter. The Carpenter, by all likelihood, was the happiest Man of all the Generation; for that perhaps, he was an honest Man, and died in his Bed; whereas, &c. how he left the Catholick Faith, which for divers Years, at the beginning, he favoured. Of the Murthering of his Wife at *Cumner*; his Adulteries and Rapines. Of his Dealings in *Flanders*, and miserable Death without a Friend: And of the quick Marriage of Lady *Lettice* after his dispatch, &c.

Sir *Francis Walsingham* serving of *Leicester's* turn in all things Ambassador in *France*, how he came to be of the Council held a Faction against my Lord Treasurer, a Man of hasty, fiery, and cruel Nature, *presertim contra Catholicos*, spent infinitely upon Spiering; and when Matter wanted, filled her Majesty's Ears with Matters feigned; died in Debt, deprived of his great Idol Sir *Philip Sidney*, his Son in Law, and stricken in the Secret Parts of his Body, as *Eusebius* reporteth of *Maximus* the Tyrant.

Sir *Christopher Hatton*, whose good Nature he commendeth above all the rest, and if he had any feeling of Religion, he thought the Catholick to be the truer, and so he protested secretly to his Friends, [as to *William Creighton*, Scotch Jesuite;] that his Hand had never subscribed to the Death of any one Catholick, nor ever should, which he thinketh not to be true, considering his Authority and Place he had in the Council; the bitter Speeches which he often used in the Star-Chamber against Catholicks for the Maintenance of

of his Credit, &c. And then he sheweth how wicked a thing it is to persecute Catholicks, which most of them in private will deny to their Friends to have their Fingers in, and above the rest the Lord Treasurer, who ever secretly feigned himself to be a Moderator and Mollifier of the Catholicks Afflictions, until of late his Lordship hath been forced to shew himself openly their unmasked Enemy. The like the Council of *Edward* the Sixth, when the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Arundell*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Pagett*, Sir *William Peter*, and others, sate daily upon Orders to publish Catholicks, whose Religion both at a time they knew to be true, and after chose the same to die therein, &c. Ergo, He thinketh Sir *Christopher Hatton* to have been most unhappy in those things, wherein other Men do think him fortunate, which are the Favours he had with Her Majesty, &c. His Death subject to suspicion of Poyson; and the next day after his Death, the Lord Treasurer triumphed, and got forth this Proclamation *contra Catholicos*, which he never had done if the other had lived, &c.

Lord Treasurer, he more than all the rest, hath, and doth seek the destruction of Catholicks by covert Means; and though while others lived more open, he shrouded Himself and his Doings now under *Walsingham*, under *Leicester*, signifying to Catholicks, that they were only the Causes, &c.

Of the Lord Treasurer's Pedegree: How *Cecil* his Father, Groom of the *Wardrobe*, was never called Master but in jest; and his Mother would never suffer her self to be called Mistress, but when her Son was made Baron of *Burleigh*.
His

His Grandfather one of the King's Guard, kept the best Inn in *Stamford*, himself first of all Bell-ringer in *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, and after, grew by Learning and Cunning, by the helps and favour of Sir *John Cheeke* and Sir *Anthony Cooke*, to be Secretary to the Duke of *Somerset* Protector, to whom he was a stickler, to set him against his own Brother the Admiral, for pleasing the Dutchess, and to cut off his Head as he did; the principal instrument to bring in Father *Lati-mer* to be an Agent, as he was in that Tragedy; and for this Service, by the Dutchess of *Somerset's* procurement to her Husband, Mr. *Cecill* was made Secretary to King *Edward VI.* After, seeing *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* more cunning and potent than the Duke of *Somerset* his Master, he secretly forsook him, and betrayed him, and gave Matter of Overthrow to *Warwick* against him; for which Service, Mr. *Cecill* was set up by *Warwick*, and brought into the King's Favour and Council again; and he followed that Man's Fortune so long as he stood in Prosperity, even to the deprivation of all King *Hen. VIII.* his Children, and penned the Proclamation and Oaths. that the Duke of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* set forth against them, and could have been content to have dispatch'd them with his own Hand, if *Northumberland* would have put him to it, &c.

Queen *Mary* established in the Crown, and the Duke of *Northumberland* Beheaded; the Treasurer bestirred himself to get Credit with Catholicks, frequented Masses, said Letanies with the Priests, laboured a pair of great Beads which he continually carried, preached to his Parishioners in *Stamford*, and asked Pardon of his Errours in

in King *Edward's* time; protested to Sir *Francis Inglefeild*, and divers others, of his Belief; and perswaded Sir *William Peter* to resign his Secretaryship to him, if Queen *Mary* would have admitted the same, who never could be perswaded to believe him.

Cecill being rejected by Queen *Mary*, got to serve the Lady *Elizabeth*, and entred with Her when she came to the Crown, to the change of Religion, &c. How the Earl of *Arundell* was couzened by him, and *Bacon*, with hope of having the Queen in Marriage, &c.

The Proceedings of *Cecill* and *Bacon* seeming intolerable to the antient Nobility of the Realm; they joined in the old Lord Treasurer's House, to pull them both from Her Majesty by Violence, and to hang them at the Court-gate; but *Cecill* escaped, by abusing the Duke of *Norfolk*, with Weeping, and fair Promises, and paid him afterwards with cutting off his Head, &c.

The Lord Treasurer hath gotten all the great Offices, almost of the Court and Country, and how playing the *Haman*, &c. Of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* School of Atheism, and of the Conniver that is Master thereof, and of Diligence used to get young Gentlemen to his School, wherein the Old Testament and New are jested at, and Scholars are taught to spell God backwards, &c.

How miserable a thing it is, that Her Majesty descended of so Noble Progenitors, should make Laws and Proclamations according to these Mens Senses and Opinions, &c.

The

The Second Head of this First Section about these words, in the Title of the Proclamation, [Viz.] *A Declaration of great Troubles pretended against the Realm by a number of Seminary Priests, Jesuits, &c.*

He laboureth to shew the true Causes of Troubles, Fears, and Perils towards *England*, not to proceed of Seminaries, but of their Accusers, &c. The great Differences, and Wars in Religion, not only with *Catholicks*, but between *Protestants*, and *Puritans* themselves. He toucheth their Books written one against another, as *Martin Marprelate*; *Mar. Martin*; *The Work for the Cooper*; *The Counter Cuff to Martin Junior*; *The Owl's Almanack*; *The Pap with a Hatchet, or Country Cuff*; *The Epistle to Huff, Snuff, and Ruff*, &c. and Propositions gathered by *R. Alison*, and dedicated of late to *Sir Thomas Henedge*, &c. Another Danger, he saith, to be the incertitude of the Succession, by my Lord Treasurer procured, by keeping her Majesty from Marriage, &c. Of the pestilent Doctrine of *Hacket*, &c. All Poyson to the Wound that is used for a Medicine, &c. He declareth for the King of *Spain*; how coming into *England* 1554, by consent and invitation of the Realm, to marry Queen *Mary*: He found the Lady *Elizabeth*, after She had been Prisoner in the Tower, for *Sir Thomas Wyatt's* Rebellion, committed to *Woodstoke*, in the Custody of *Sir Henry Bedingsfeild*, and in danger of Her Life; for that Queen *Mary*, and the *English* Council, upon Confession of *Wyatt* himself, and others, were resolved to have Her Arraigned, and Executed: How de delivered her out of this Danger,

ger, and of the like after, She acquitted her for the special Favour of the King, and his *Spanish* Council. How he gave her all Queen *Mary's* Jewels, and other Riches, &c. My Lord Treasurer saith in his Letter, That *Leicester's* great Grandfather was no less than a Lord *Dudley's* Son; wherewith this Answerer saith, He will not greatly trouble himself, though this new Genealogy seem strange, and not credible to many *English mens* Ears of most Knowledge and Experience, &c. And the Lord Treasurer saith, That albeit, *Bacon's* Father were no Man of Living, yet was he accounted so Wealthy, as he left Two of his Sons Stocks of Money to be honest Merchants; and to the Third [which was afterwards Lord Keeper,] Maintenance for his Study in *Grays Inn*, &c. Of himself, my Lord Treasurer saith, his House comes of the ancient *Sittlcitts* of *Wales*, and are descended from the Reign of the Conquerour, and have Matched, and come of Noble Houses both of *England* and *Wales*, and of the Princes of *Wales*; and that his Grandfather *David Cecill*, came out of *Britany* a Sergeant at Arms first with King *Hen. VII.* and was by the said King placed at *Stamford*, and was Steward of his Mother's House the Countess of *Richmond*, and after was Squire of the Body, both to King *Hen. VII.* and to King *Hen. VIII.*

To all which, this Answerer saith, That so diligent a displaying of Genealogies by his own Hand-writing at this instant, when he handleth the Match of his Grand-child with *Arabella*, implyeth a further Secret than every Man doth look into especially, &c.

The

The Old Countess of *Huntington*, Mother to the Earl that now liveth, told the Queen and Maids of Honour in the Court, that she had heard an Old Prophecy, *That one who had two CC's in his Name should be the Destruction of England, &c.*

For the cutting off the Queen of *Scot's* Head, some of that Nation being of good Intelligence, have said unto Strangers in defence of their King's Honour, That albeit, they of *England* had cut off the Head of his Mother, he must not therefore by untimely Revenge, cut himself off from the possibility of that Crown, &c.

The Earl of *LEICESTER's* Epitaph.

*Here lyes the Worthy Warriour
That never bloodied Sword:
Here lyes the Loyal Courtier
That never kept his Word.
Here lyes his Noble Excellence
That ruled all the States:
Here lyes the Earl of Leicester
Whom Earth and Heaven hates.*

Great Treasure heaped together, by Rapine, Wrong, and Violence, is never enjoyed with long Felicity: For, *De male quesitis vix gaudet tertius hæres.*

Cave ab his quos natura Signavit.

A Grant

*A Grant of A R M S to the Family of
Gresham in Surrey.*

TO all present and to come, which these
present Letters shall see, hear or read.
I *Christopher Barker* Esq; *alias* principal
Garter, King of Arms of *English men*, sendeth
due humble Recommendation and Greeting, as it
appertaineth, Equity willeth, and Reason ordain-
eth, That the Men vertuous, and of commenda-
ble Disposition and Living, be by their Merits,
good Name and Fame, renowned and rewarded
in their Persons in this mortal Life, and Tran-
sitory, but also after them, all those that of their
Bodies shall issue, and procure to be in all Pla-
ces of Honour perpetually, with others renowned
and rewarded, by certain Ensigns and Demonstra-
tions of Honour and Nobleness: That is, to wit,
of Arms, Helm, and Crest, with their Appurte-
nances, to the intent that by their Example others
shall the more enforce themselves perseverantly to
use their Life in honourable Works and virtuous
Deed, to purchase and obtain the Fame of Anci-
ent Nobles in their Line and Posterity. And
therefore I the said Garter, principal King of Arms
of *English-men*, which not all only by the com-
mon Renoun of Fame, but also by the Report and
Witness of sundry Gentile and Noble Men, am
credibly informed, That *Richard Gresham*, Gen-
tleman, Mayor, and Alderman of the Honourable
City of *London*, is come, and descended of an ho-
nest

next Line, and ancient Stock, and He and his Ancestors hath long continued in Nobility, and bearing Arms, that is to say, Silver a *Chivron Ermile*, three *Moletts Sable* pierced of the *Field*; and for the remembrance and consideration of the Nobility and Gentileness that I have known in the said *Richard Gresham*, by good Activity divers and sundry ways, have given and granted unto Him and his Posterity, certain new augmentation of Ensigns, and demonstration of Arms, Helm, and Crest, to be augmented and annexed to the same: The *Blazon* whereof appeareth in manner and form following, That is to say, Silver a *Chivron Ermile*, three *Moletts* of fine Points, *Sable* pierced of the *Field*, a chief *Gules*, on the chief a *Pellicane* close between two Legs of a *Lion* raised *Gold*, arm'd *Azure* upon his Crest, a *Grashopper*, *Cochant Gold* with a *Tuft* of *Grass verte* set in *Wreath Gold* and *Gules*, the *Mantelets Gules*, double *Argent*, buttoned, and tasseled *Gold*, as more plainly appeared depicted in this *Margent*, to have and to hold to the said *Richard Gresham*, and his Posterity, with their due Differences, to use and enjoy, to their Honour, for evermore. In witness whereof, I the said Garter, principal King of Arms, hath signed this present Confirmation with my own Hand, and hath set there to the Seal of my Office of Garter, principal King of Arms of *English men*, and also the Seal of my Arms. Given at *London* the last day of *November*, in the Year of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, a Thousand five hundred thirty and seven, and of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Henry the Eighth*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the

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the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth the
Supream Head of the Church of *England*: The
29th Year.

Garter, Principal King of Arms.

Transcribed out of the Original Grant.

*To the Right Honourable the Commons of Eng-
land assembled in Parliament.*

*The Humble Petition of the inferiour Clergy,
[viz.] of the Rectours, Vicars, and Curates
of this Nation.*

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners do in all grateful
manner acknowledge your indefatigable
Endeavours to settle our Church upon the
firm Basis of Beautiful Uniformity, a Work of
such matchless Piety, that it can never be forgot-
ten whilst there remains a Generation of true Prote-
stants. Nevertheless, there is a strange prodigious
Race of Men amongst us, who are not at all af-
fected with this unexpressible Mercy, but labour
to shake off the Yoak [as they are pleased to
term it,] of Government, as well Civil as Eccle-
siastical.

We therefore your Petitioners, do with all
Reverence beseech this Honourable House, to pro-
vide some timely cure for this Disease: And in

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order

order thereunto, we in all humility beg leave to present you with these few Expedients, which being [as we humbly conceive,] so much to the Glory of God, the Good and Settlement of his Church, the Safety and Preservation of our Sovereign and His Crown, and the Honour of our Nation, will not be rejected by this Honourable House.

I. That you would endeavour by some severe Laws, to put a stop to the Increase and Growth of *Anabaptism* in this Kingdom; the People of that Persuasion being most active, fraudulent, and industrious, to make Profelytes of the most Ignorant, and to rebaptize them by their Lay-Teachers.

II. That for the better observation of the Lord's Day, and for the promoting of Conformity, you would be pleased to advance the pecuniary Mulct of Twelve Pence for each Absence from Divine Service, in proportion to the Degree, Quality, and Ability of the Delinquent, that so the Penalty may be of Force enough to conquer the Obstinacy of the *Nonconformists*.

III. That you would relieve the Clergy in the gaining of their smaller Tythes, not exceeding the value of Forty Shillings by a less chargeable Way than costly Law-suits, which to them [especially to poor Vicars, whose Maintenance is very mean by extraordinary Impositions, and multitude of introduced Customs,] is a remedy much more grievous than the Disease.

IV. That you would please to consider, and to determine of some more equal manner of raising Subsidies upon the Clergy; the present measure thereof to them, bearing no proportion to the rest of His Majesty's Subjects.

V. That

V. That you please to retrieve some Expedient to augment the Maintenance of Vicars in Markets and great Towns, and of Curates under Lay Impropriators; such of the Clergy's Maintenance being in no degree competent for their Pains and Labour, which we conceive to be the cause that the greatest Congregations have generally Curates of the meanest Abilities.

VI. That you would compel such obstinate Persons as refuse to pay their due Rates and Assessments, to the repair of their respective Parish Churches, and other Charges relating to the Worship of God, to be responsible for such stubborn Refusal to the Civil Magistrate, seeing they undervalue and despise all Ecclesiastical Authority.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

A Copy of the CHARTER to the East-India Company.

CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas our Well-beloved Subjects, the Governor and Company of Merchants trading into the *East-Indies*, have been of long time a Corporation, to the Honour and Profit of this Nation, and have enjoyed, and do enjoy divers Liberties, and Privileges, and Immunities, by force of several Letters Patents, and Charters heretofore granted to them by our late Royal Progenitors, *Queen Elizabeth* and King

James of Blessed Memory. And whereas we are given to understand, that of late divers Disorders and Inconveniencies have been committed as well by our own Subjects as Foreigners, to the great prejudice of the said Company, and interruption of their Trade. Whereupon they have humbly besought Us, to grant and confirm their said Charters with some Alterations and Additions, tending to the Benefit and Advancement of their Trade and Traffick.

Know ye therefore, That We taking the Premises into our Royal Consideration, and well weighing how highly it imports the Honour and Welfare of this our Realm, and of our good Subjects thereof, that all Disorders and Inconveniencies befalling the said Corporation, should be redressed, to which end, and out of an earnest desire that such good and decent Orders may be established and practised in the said Corporation, as may tend to their Encouragement, and the promoting of the General Good, have of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, and at the Humble Petition of the said Governour and Company, given, granted, ratified and confirmed, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do give, grant, ratifie and confirm, unto Our said Trusty and Well-beloved Subjects, the Governour and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East-Indies*: That they from henceforth for ever, be, and shall be one Body Corporate and Politick in Deed and in Name, by the Name of the Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*; and them by the Name of the Governour and the Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East-Indies*, one Body Corporate and

and Politick in Deed and in Name, really and fully for ever, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors. We do make, ordain, constitute, establish, confirm, and declare by these Presents; and that by the same Name of Governour and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the *East Indies*. They shall have perpetual Succession. And that They, and their Successors, by the Name of the Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, be, and at all times hereafter, shall be Persons able and capable in Law, and a Body Corporate and Politick, and capable in Law to have purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, and retain Lands, Rents, Privileges, Liberties, Jurisdictions, Franchises, and Hereditaments of what Kind, Nature, and Quality soever they be, to them and their Successors; and also, to give, grant, demise, alien, assign, and dispose Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and to do and execute all and singular other things by the same Name, that to them shall or may appertain to do. And that they, and their Successors, by the Name of the Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, may plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and be defended, in whatsoever Court and Places, and before whatsoever Judges, and Justices, and other Persons, and Officers, in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Causes, and Demands whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature, or sort, in such manner and form, as any other our Liege People of this our Realm of *England*, being Persons able and capable in Law, may, or can have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, alien, assign, dispose, plead, defend, and be defended, release,

and be released, do, permit, and execute; and that the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and their Successors, may have a common Seal, to serve for all the Causes and Business of them, and their Successors: And that it shall and may be lawful to the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, the same Seal from time to time, at their Will and Pleasure, to break, change, and make new, or alter, as to them shall seem expedient.

And further, We will, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors: We do ordain, that there shall be from henceforth, one of the same Company to be elected and appointed, in such Form as hereafter in these Presents is expressed, which shall be called the Governour of the said Company: And that there shall be from henceforth, twenty four of the said Company to be elected and appointed, in such Form as hereafter in these Presents is express'd, which shall be called the Committees of the said Company, who together with the Governour of the said Company for the time being, shall have the direction of the Voyages of and for the said Company, and the Provision of the Shipping, and Merchandizes thereunto belonging, and also the Sale of all Merchandizes, Goods, and other Things, returned in all, or any other Voyages, or Ships of, or for the said Company, and managing, or handling of all other Business, Affairs, and Things belonging to the said Company.

And We will, ordain, and grant by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and their Successors, That they the said Governour and

and Company, and their Successors, shall from henceforth for ever be ruled, ordered, and governed, according to such manner and form, as is hereafter in these Presents expressed, and not otherwise, nor in any other sort or form, and that they shall have, hold, retain, and enjoy the Grants, Liberties, Privileges, Jurisdictions, and Immunities only hereafter in these Presents, granted, and expressed, and no other. And for the better execution of our said Will, and Grant, in this behalf, we have assigned, nominated, constituted, and made; and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, We do assign, nominate, constitute, and make *Sir Andrew Riccard*, Knight, to be the first and present Governour of the said Company, and to continue in the said Office from the Date of these Presents, until the Tenth Day of *April* then next following, if the said *Sir Andrew Riccard* shall so long live, and so, until a new Governour be chosen by the said Company in form hereafter expressed; and also, we have assigned, nominated, and appointed, and by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, we do assign, nominate, constitute, and make *George Lord Berkeley*, *Sir John Lewis*, *Sir William Thompson*, *Sir Richard Ford*, *Sir James Drax*, *Sir John Frederick*, *Sir Theophilus Biddulph*, *Sir William Vincent*, *Sir Thomas Bludworth*, *Sir William Ryder*, *Sir Stephen White*, and *Sir George Smyth*, Knights; *William Love*, Esq; *William Williams*, *John Folliff*, *Peter Middleton*, *Thomas Kendall*, *Maurice Thompson*, *Samuel Moyer*, *Christopher Boone*, *Francis Clerk*, *John Maseall*, *Thomas Pearle*, and *Christopher Willoughby*, Gent. to be the Twenty four first, and present Committees of the said Company, from the Date of these Presents until the said

Tenth Day of *April* then also next following, and so until new Committees shall be chosen in form hereafter expressed. And further, We will, and grant by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and their Successors, that it shall and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour and Company for the time being, or the more part of them present at any publick Assembly, commonly called the Court General holden for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company being always one, from time to time to elect, nominate, and appoint one of the said Company to be Deputy to the said Governour, which Deputy shall take a corporal Oath before the Governour, and five or more of the Committees of the said Company for the time being, well, and faithfully, and truly, to execute his said Office of Deputy to the said Governour of the said Company, and after his Oath so taken, shall, and may from time to time in the absence of the said Governour, exercise, and execute the Office of Governour of the said Company, in such sort as the said Governour ought to do. And further, We will, and grant, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and their Successors, That they, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy to be one, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall, and may have Authority and Power Yearly, and every Year between the Tenth and the last Day of *April*, to assemble and meet together in some convenient Place to be appointed from

from time to time by the Governour, or in his absence by the Deputy of the said Governour for the time being, and that they being so assembled, it shall, and may be lawful so, and for the said Governour, or Deputy of the said Governour, and the said Company for the time being, or the greater part of them which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Governour of the said Company or his Deputy for the time being, to be one, to elect, and nominate one of the said Company, which shall be Governour of the same Company for one whole Year from thence next following; which Person being so elected and nominated to be Governour of the said Company, as is aforesaid, before he be admitted to the execution of the said Office, shall take a corporal Oath before the last Governour, being his Predecessor or his Deputy, and any Six, or more of the Committees of the said Company for the time being: That he shall from time to time, well and truly execute the Office of Governour of the said Company in all things concerning the same; and that immediately after the said Oath so taken, he shall, and may execute and use the said Office of Governour of the said Company, for one whole Year from thence next following: And in like sort, we will, and grant, That as well every one above-named, to be of the said Company or Fellowship, as all others to be hereafter admitted, or free of the said Company, shall take a corporal Oath before the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputy, for the time being, being to such effect as by the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them, in any publick Court to be held for the said Company, shall be in reasonable manner set down, and

and devised, before they shall be allowed or admitted to Trade or Traffique, as a Freeman of the said Company. And further, We will, and grant, by these Presents, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, That the said Governour, or Deputy of the said Governour, and the Company, and their Successors, for the time being, or the greater part of them, and whereof the Governour, or the Deputy of the Governour, from time to time, to be one, shall, and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, have Authority and Power Yearly, and every Year, between the Tenth and the last Day of *April*, to assemble and meet together in some convenient Place, to be from time to time appointed by the said Governour of the said Company, or in his absence by his Deputy; and that they being so assembled, it shall, and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour, or his Deputy, and the Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputy, for the time being, to be one, to elect and nominate Twenty four of the said Company, which shall be Committees of the said Company for one whole Year from thence next ensuing; which Persons being so elected and nominated to be Committees of the said Company as aforesaid, before they be admitted to the execution of their said Offices, shall take a corporal Oath before the Governour, or his Deputy, and any Five or more of the said Committees of the said Company, being their last Predecessors for the time being, that they, and every of them,

them, shall well and faithfully perform their said Office of Committees in all things concerning the same; and that immediately after the Oath so taken, they shall, and may execute and use their said Offices of Committees of the said Company for one whole Year from thence next following.

And moreover, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, we do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and to their Successors, That when, and as often as it shall happen, the Governour of the said Company for the time being, at any time within one Year after, that he shall be nominated, elected, and sworn to the Office of the Governour of the said Company, as is aforesaid, to die, or to be removed from the said Office; which Governour not demeaning himself well in his said Office, We will to be removable at the pleasure of the said Company, or the greater part of them, which shall be present at any their publick Assemblies, commonly called their General Court holden for the said Company: That then, and so often it shall, and may be lawful to, and for the residue of the said Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, within convenient time, after the Death or removing of any such Governours, to assemble themselves in such convenient place as they shall think fit for the Election of the Governour of the said Company; and that the said Company, or the greater part of them, being then and there present, shall, and may then and there, before their Departure from the said Place elect, and nominate one other of the said Company to be Governour of the same Company, in
the

the place and stead of him that so died, or was removed; which Person being so elected and nominated to the Office of Governour of the said Company, shall have, and exercise the said Office for, and during the residue of the said Year, taking first a corporal Oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof, and this to be done from time to time, so often as the Case shall so require. And also, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, We do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and to their Successors, That when, and as often as it shall happen, any of the Committees of the said Company for the time being, at any time within one Year next after, that they, or any of them, shall be nominated, elected, and sworn to the Office of Committees of the said Company, as is aforesaid, to die, or be removed from the said Office, which Committees not demeaning themselves well in their said Office; We will to be removable at the pleasure of the said Governour and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour of the said Company for the time being, or his Deputy, to be one: That then, and so often it shall, and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour and Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy, to be one, within convenient time after the Death or Removing of any of the said Committees, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as is, or shall be usual and accustomed for the Election of the Governour of the said Company, or where else the Governour of the said Company for the time being, or his Deputy, shall appoint,

and that the said Governour and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy, to be one; being then and there present, shall, and may then and there, before their Departure from the said Place elect, and nominate one or more of the said Company to be Committee or Committees, in the places, steads, place or stead of him or them that so died, or were or was so removed; which Person or Persons so elected, and nominated to the Office or Offices of Committee or Committees of the said Company, shall have, and exercise the said Office and Offices for, and during the residue of the said Year, taking first a corporal Oath as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof; and this to be done from time to time, so often as the Case shall require.

And further, We do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, will and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, That they, and all that are or shall be of the said Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and every of them, and all the Sons of them, and every of them, at their several Ages of one and twenty Years, or upwards: And further, That all such the Apprentices, Factors, and Servants of them, and every of them, which hereafter shall be employed by the said Governour and Company in the said Trade of Merchandize of, or to the *East-Indies* beyond the Seas, or any other the Places aforesaid, shall, and may from henceforth for ever, from the Day of the Date of these Presents, freely Traffick, and use the Trade of Merchandize by Seas, in, and by such Ways and Passages already ready

ready found out, and discovered, as they shall esteem, and take to be fittest into, and from the said *East-Indies*, in the Countries and Parts of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and into, and from the Islands, Parts, Havens, Cities, Creeks, Towns and Places of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, or any of them beyond the Cape of *Bona Sperancia* to the Streights of *Magellan*, where any Trade or Traffique of Merchandize may be used or had, and to, and from every of them, in such order, manner, form, liberty and condition, to all intents and purposes as shall be from time to time at any publick Assembly, or Court holden by, or for the said Governour and Company, by, or between them of the said Fellowship, or Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, or the more part of them for the time being, present at such Assembly or Court, the Governour or his Deputy being always present at such Court or Assembly, limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any Molestation, Impeachment, or Disturbance, any Statute, Usage, Diversity of Religion, or Faith, or any other Cause or Matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding, so always the same Trade be not undertaken, or addressed to any Country, Island, Port, Haven, City, Creek, Town, or Place, already in the lawful and actual possession of any such Christian Prince, or State, as at this present is, or at any time hereafter shall be in League or Amity, with Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, and who doth not or will not accept of such Trade, but doth overtly declare, and publish the same, to be utterly against his and their good Will and Liking. And further, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, We do

do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and to their Successors, That it shall, and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, from time to time, to assemble themselves for, or about any of the Matters, Causes, Affairs, or Business of the said Trade, in any Place or Places for the same, convenient, within our Dominions, or elsewhere, and there to hold Court for the said Company, and the Affairs thereof; and that also, it shall, and may be lawful to, and for them, or the most part of them, being so assembled, and that shall then and there be present in any such Place, or Places, whereof the Governour or his Deputy for the time being, to be one, to make, ordain, and constitute such, and so many reasonable Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them, being then and there present, shall seem necessary and convenient, for the good Government of the said Company, and of all Factors, Masters, Mariners, and other Officers employed, or to be employed in any of their Voyages. And for the better advancement and continuance of the said Trade or Traffique, and the same Laws, Constitutions, Orders and Ordinances so made, to put in ure, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasure to revoke, or alter the same, or any of them, as occasion shall require, and that the said Governour and Company, so often as they shall make, ordain, or establish any such Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances in form aforesaid, shall, and may lawfully impose, ordain, limit, and provide such Pains, Punishments, and Penalties, by imprisonment of Body, or by Fines and Amerciaments, or by all
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or any of them, upon or against all Offenders, contrary to such Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, or any of them, as to the said Governour and Company for the time being, or the greater part of them then and there being present, [the said Governour or his Deputy being always one,] shall seem necessary, requisite, and convenient, for the observation of the same Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances; and the same Fines and Amerciaments shall, and may, by their Officers and Servants, from time to time to be appointed for that purpose, levy, take, and have, to the use of the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, without the impediment of Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, or any of the Officers, or Ministers, of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, and without any Account therefore to Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, to be made. All and singular which Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, so as aforesaid to be made, We will to be duly observed, and kept, under the Pains and Penalties therein to be contained, so always as the said Laws, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, Imprisonments, Fines and Amerciaments, be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, or Customs of this our Realm.

And also, of Our further special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We do, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, grant to, and with the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, That when, and as often as any Custom, Poundage, Subsidy, or other Duties, shall be due, and payable unto Us, our Heirs, or Successors,

cessors, for any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever, to be returned out, or from any of the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforesaid, unto Our Port of *London*, or any of the Havens, Creeks, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, that the Customers, and all other Officers for the time being, for Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, for or concerning the Receipt of Custom, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties, unto whom it shall or may appertain, shall upon the request of the Governour and Company of the said Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, or any of their Agents, Factors, or Assigns, give unto the said Governour and Company, their Agents, Factors, or Assigns, six Months time for the Payment of the other half of their said Custom, Poundage, or other Subsidies, or Duties, receiving good sufficient Bond with Surety, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, for the true payment of the same accordingly; and upon receipt of the same with Surety from time to time, to give unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies* for the time being, their Agents, Factors, or Assigns, their Cocquets, or other Warrants to take out, and receive on Land, the same Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes, by virtue hereof without any disturbance; and that also, as often as any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes of the said Governour and Company for the time being, laden from our Port of *London*, or any of the Creeks, Members, or Places, to the same Port belonging, to be transported to, or towards any of the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforesaid, shall happen to miscarry, or be lost, before their safe
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arrival, or discharge in the Ports for, and to which the same shall be sent, that then, and so often so much Custom, Poundage, Subsidy, or other Duties, as they are answered to Us for the same, before their going forth of our said Ports, Havens, or Creeks, shall, after due Proof made before the Treasurer of Our Realm of *England* for the time being, of the said Loss, and the just Quantity thereof, be by virtue hereof allowed to the said Governour and Company, their Agents, or Factors, by Warrant of the said Treasurer, to the said Customers, or Officers, in the next Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, that the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, shall, or may ship for, or towards those Parts, according to the true Rates of the Customs, Poundage, Subsidies, before paid for the Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes so lost, or miscarried, or any part of them. And for that the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, are like to bring into this Realm a much greater quantity of Foreign Commodities from the Parts of the said *East-Indies*, than can be spent for the necessary use of the same Our Realm, which of necessity must be transported into other Countries, and there vented: We for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, do grant to, and with the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, that at all times from time to time during the space of thirteen Months next after the discharge of any the same Foreign Commodities so to be brought in, [the Subsidies, Poundage, Customs, and other Duties for the same, being first paid, and com-
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pounded for as aforesaid,] it shall, and may be lawful for the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, or any other the natural Subjects of this Our Realm, which may; or shall buy the same, to transport the same in *English* Bottoms freely out of this Realm, without payment of any further Customs, Poundages, or any further Subsidy, to Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, for the same; whereof the Subsidy, Poundage, Customs, or other Duties, shall be so formerly paid, or compounded for, as aforesaid, and so proved; and the said Customers, or other Officer, or Officers, to whom it shall in that behalf appertain for the time being, by virtue hereof, shall upon due and sufficient proof thereof, made in the Custom-House of, or belonging to the same Port of *London*, give them sufficient Cocquets, or Certificate, for the safe passing out thereof accordingly; and to the end no deceit. be used herein, to Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, Certificate shall be brought from the Collector of the Customs, Subsidy, Poundage, or other Duties inwards, of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, to the Collector of the Customs, Poundage, Subsidy, or other Duties outwards, of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, that the said Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes, have within the time limited, answered their due Custom, Poundage, Subsidy, or other Duties for the same inwards. And moreover, We of Our further especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, have granted, and by these Presents do, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and their Successors, that it shall, and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, to

ship, and transport out of this Our Realm, or Dominions of the same, in any of their Voyages to, or towards any the Parts aforesaid, all such Foreign Coin of Silver, *Spanish*, or other Foreign Silver, or Bullion of Silver, as they shall bring, or cause to be brought into this Realm of *England* from the Parts beyond the Seas, either in the same kind, sort, stamp, or fashion, which it shall have when they bring it in, or any other form, stamp, or fashion, to be coined within our Mint within our *Tower of London* at their pleasure, so as the whole quantities of Coin or Monies by them to be transported in any their said Voyages, do not exceed the Value or Sum of Fifty thousand Pounds in any one Voyage. And further, We of Our more ample and abundant Grace, meer Motion, and certain Knowledge, have granted, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and to their Successors, That they and their Successors, and their Factors, and Servants, and Assigns, in the Trade of Merchandize, for them, and on their behalf, and not otherwise, shall for ever hereafter, have, use, and enjoy the Whole entire, and only Trade, and Traffique, and the Whole entire, and only Liberty, Use, and Privilege of Trading and Traffiquing, and using the Feat and Trade of Merchandize to, and from the said *East-Indies*, and to, and from all the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, and Places aforesaid, in such manner and form as is above-mentioned; and that they the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and every particular, and several Person that now is, or that hereafter shall

shall be of that Company or Incorporation, shall have full and free Authority, Liberty, Faculty, License, and Power, in Form aforesaid, to Trade and Traffique to, and from the said *East-Indies*, and all, and every of the Parts thereof in Form aforesaid, according to the Orders, Ordinances, and Agreements hereafter, to be made and agreed upon by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and their Successors, or the more part of them present at any Court, or Publick Assembly of, or for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputy for the time being, being always present at such Court or Assembly, and not otherwise. And for that the Ships sailing into the *East Indies*, must take their due and proper times to proceed in their Voyages, which otherwise [as We well perceive,] cannot be performed in the rest of the Year following; therefore We of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do grant to, and with the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, and that in any time of Restraint, six good Ships, and six good Pinances well furnished with Ordnance, and other Munition, for their Defence, and Five hundred of Mariners *English men*, to guide and sail in the said Six Ships and Six Pinnaces, at all times, shall be quietly permitted, and suffered to depart, and go in the said Voyages, according to the purport of these Presents, without any stay or contradiction, by Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, or by the Lord Admiral, or any other Officer or Subjects, of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, for the time being in any wise, any Restraint, Law, Statute,

rute, Usage, or Matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided nevertheless, that if We shall at any time, have just cause to Arm our Navy in Warlike manner, in Defence of Our Realm, or for Offence of Our Enemies, or that it shall be found needful to join to the Navy, of Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, the Ships of Our Subjects to be also armed for the Wars to such a number as cannot be supplied, if the said Six Ships and Six Pinnaces, should be permitted to depart, as above is mentioned: Then upon Knowledge given, by Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, or by our Admiral, to the said Governour and Company, about the twentieth Day of the Month of *July*, or three Months before the said Governour and Company, shall begin to make ready the same Six Ships and Six Pinnaces, that we may not spare the said Six Ships and Six Pinnaces, and the Mariners requisite for them, to be out of Our Realm during the time that our Navy shall be upon the Seas: That then the said Governour and Company shall forbear to send Six such Ships and Six Pinnaces for their Trade of Merchandizes, until that we shall revoke or withdraw Our said Navy from the said Service. And We of Our further Royal Favour, and of Our more especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, have granted, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do grant to the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and to their Successors, that the said *East-Indies*, or the Islands, Havens, Ports, Cities, Towns, or Places thereof, or any part thereof, shall not be visited, frequented, or haunted by any of the Subjects, of Us, Our Heirs or Successors, during the time that these
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Our Letters Patents shall be or remain in force, and not revoked or repealed, contrary to the true meaning of these Presents. And by virtue of Our Prerogative Royal, which We will not in that behalf, argued or brought in question; We straitly charge, command, and prohibit, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, all the Subjects, of Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, of what Degree or Quality soever they be, That none of them, directly or indirectly, do visit, haunt, frequent, or trade, Traffique, or adventure by way of Merchandize, into, or from any of the said *East-Indies*, or into, and from any of the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforesaid, other than the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and such particular Persons as now be, and hereafter shall be of that Company, their Agents, Factors, and Assigns, during the time that these Our Letters Patents, shall be or remain in force, as aforesaid, unless it be by, and with the License and Agreement of the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, in writing first had and obtained under their common Seal, to be granted upon pain, that every such Person, or Persons, that shall Trade or Traffique into, or from any of the said *East-Indies*, and their Successors, shall incur our Indignation, and the forfeiture and the loss of the Goods, Merchandizes, and other things whatsoever, which so shall be brought into this Realm of *England*, or any the Dominions of the same, contrary to Our said Prohibition, or the Purport, or the true meaning of these Presents, or which the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, shall find, take, and seize, in other Places

out of our Dominions, where the said Company, their Servants, Factors, or Ministers, shall trade and traffique by virtue of these our Letters Patents: As also, the Ship and Ships, with the Furniture therein, wherein such Goods and Merchandizes shall be brought, or shall be found, the one half of all the said Forfeitures to be to Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, and the other half of all and every the said Forfeitures, We do by these Presents of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, clearly and wholly, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, give and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors: And further, all and every of the said Offenders for the said Contempt, to suffer Imprisonment during Our Pleasure, and such other Punishment as to Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, for so high a Contempt shall seem meet and convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered, until they, and every of them shall become bound unto the said Governour for the time being, in the Sum of One thousand Pounds at the least, at no time than after to sail or traffique into any of the said *East Indies*, contrary to our express Commandment in that behalf herein set down and published. And further, for the better Encouragement of Merchant Strangers, and others, to bring in Commodities into Our Realm, We for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, That They and their Successors may from time to time, for any consideration or benefit to be taken to their own Use, Grant, or give License to any Person or Persons, to sail, trade, or traffique into, or from
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any the said *East-Indies*, so as such License be granted, or given, before such Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes be laid on Land, and so as such License be made by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies* for the time being, under their Common Seal.

And further, of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We have condescended, and granted, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, We do condescend and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and their Successors, That We, Our Heirs, and Successors, during all the time that these Our Letters Patents shall be, and remain in force, as aforesaid, will not grant Liberty, License, or Power to any Person or Persons whatsoever, contrary to the Tenour of these Our Letters Patents, to sail, pass, trade, or traffique to the said *East-Indies*, or into, or from any of the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns, or Places aforesaid, or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these Presents, without the consent of the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, or the most part of them. And of Our abundant Grace and Favour to the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, We do hereby declare, That Our Will and Pleasure is, that if it shall so happen, that any of the Persons free, or to be free of the said Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, who shall before the going forth of any Ship or Fleet appointed for a Voyage, or otherwise promise or agree by Writing,

ting, under his or their Hands, to adventure any Sum or Sums of Money towards the furnishing Provision, or Maintenance of any Voyage or Voyages, set forth, or to be set forth, or intended, or meant, to be set forth by the said Governour, or the more part of them present at any Publick Assembly, commonly called their General Court, shall not within the space of twenty Days next after Warning, given to him or them by the said Governour and Company, or their known Officer, or Minister bring in, and deliver to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed for the Company, such Sums of Money as shall have been exprefs'd, and set down in Writing by the said Person or Persons subscribing, with the Name of the said Adventurer or Adventurers: That then, and at all times, after it shall and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them present, whereof the said Governour or his Deputy to be one, at any of their General Courts or Assemblies, to remove, and disfranchise him or them, and every such Person or Persons, at their Wills and Pleasures; and he, or they, so removed and disfranchised, not to be permitted to trade into the said *East-Indies*, or any the Parts thereof, nor to have any Adventure or Stock going or remaining with, or amongst the said Company, without the special License of the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them present at any General Court first had, and obtained in that behalf, any thing before in these Presents to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And Our Will and Pleasure is, and hereby we do also ordain, that it shall and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour and Company of Merchants
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of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, or the more part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputy, to be one, to admit into, and to be of the said Company, all such Apprentices to any of the said Fellowship or Company, and all Servants, or Factors of, or for the said Company, and all such others, as to them, or to the most part of them present, at any Court held for the said Company, the Governour or his Deputy being one, shall be thought fit, and agreeable with the Orders and Ordinances made, and to be made, for the Government of the said Company. And the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, for them and their Successors, do by these Presents, covenant, promise, and grant to, and with Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, That they the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, in all and every such Wages, as they at any time or times hereafter, shall make out of this Our Realm, by virtue of this Our Grant, and Letters Patents, [the first Voyage only excepted,] shall and will upon every Return which shall be made back again into this Realm, or any of Our Dominions, or within six Months next after every such Return, bring into this Our Realm of *England*, from the said *East-Indies*, or from some other Parts beyond the Seas, out of Our Dominions, as great or greater Value in Bullion, of Gold or Silver, respectively for every Voyage, [the first Voyage only excepted,] as shall be by force of these Presents transported and carried out of this Realm by them, or any of them, in any kind of Silver abovesaid whatsoever, in any of the said Voyages, and that all such Silver, as by virtue of this Our Grant, and
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Letters Patents, shall be shipped or laden by the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, to be transported out of this Realm in any of the said Voyages, shall from time to time, at the setting forth of every such particular Voyage, be shipped or laden at the Ports, or Havens of *London*, *Dartmouth*, or *Plymouth*, or at some of the same Ports, or Havens, and at no other Port or Haven whatsoever, within this Our Realm, or the Dominions thereof. And that all and every such Silver as from time to time, shall be shipped and laden in the said Ports of *London*, *Dartmouth*, or *Plymouth*, or any of them, to be by force of these Presents transported out of this Our Realm, as is aforesaid, shall from time to time be duly entred by the Customer, Comptroller, Collector, or other Officer, to whom it shall appertain, of every such Port, or Haven, where the same shall happen to be shipped or laden, to be transported as aforesaid, without any Custom or Subsidy to be paid for the same; and that in like manner, all, and all manner of Gold and Silver, which shall be brought into this Our Realm, or any of Our Dominions, by the said Governour and Company, or any of them, according to the true meaning of these Presents, shall likewise be from time to time entered by the Customer, Comptroller, or other Officer, of every such Port, Creek, or Place, where the same Gold or Silver shall happen to be unshipped, or brought to Land, before such time as the same Gold or Silver, or any part thereof shall be unshipped, and brought to Land as aforesaid, according to such Order as by Our Treasurer of *England* for the time being, shall be taken for the Entering of the same. And for the preventing of secret and clandestine Trading, contrary

trary to Our Intentions herein before expressed, Our further Will and Pleasure is, and We do for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, grant unto the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, That no Commissioner, or other Officers, that are, or shall be appointed to manage the Affairs of the Customs, payable unto Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, shall permit any Entries to be made, of any Goods or Merchandizes of the Growth, Production, or Manufacture of the Parts or Places aforesaid, in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, above-limited, or appropriated to the Trade of the said Governour and Company, other than such as from time to time shall be allowed of by the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, by their Common Seal, or the Hand of the Officer, to be by them appointed to sit in the Custom house for that purpose.

And further, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, We do grant unto the said Governour, and Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, and to their Successors, That it shall and may be lawful in all Elections, and By-Laws to be made by the General Court of the Adventurers of the said Company, That every Person shall have a number of Votes, according to his Stock, that is to say, for every Five hundred Pounds by him subscribed, or brought into the present Stock, one Vote; and that any of those that have subscribed or brought less than Five hundred Pounds, may join their respective Sums to make up Five hundred Pounds, and have one Vote jointly for the same, and not otherwise.

And further, of Our especial Grace, and certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, We do, for Us,
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Our Heirs, and Successors, grant to, and with the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and their Successors, That all Plantations, Forts, Fortifications, Factories, or Colonies, where the said Companies, Factories, and Trade are, or shall be in the *East-Indies*, shall be immediately and from henceforth under the power and commandment of the said Governour and Company, their Successors and Assigns; and that the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East-Indies*, shall have Liberty, full Power and Authority, to appoint and establish Governours, and all other Officers to govern them; and that the Governour and his Council of the several respective Places, where the said Company have, or shall have any Factories or Places of Trade within the said *East-Indies*, may have power to judge all Persons belonging to the said Governour and Company, or that shall live under them, in all Causes whether Civil or Criminal, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, and to execute Judgment accordingly; and in case any Crime or Misdemeanor shall be committed in any of the said Companies Factories in the said *East-Indies*, where Judicature cannot be executed as aforesaid, for want of a Governour or Council there, then, in such case, it shall and may be lawful for the chief Factor of that Place, and his Council, to transmit the Party together with the Offence, to such other Plantation, Factory, or Fort, where there is a Governour and Council, where Justice may be executed, or into this Kingdom of *England*, as shall be thought most convenient, there to receive such Punishment as the Justice of his Offence shall deserve.

And

And moreover, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, We do give and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading to the *East-Indies*, and ther Successors, free Liberty and License for the said Governour and Company, in case they conceive it necessary, to send either Ships of War, Men, or Ammunition, into any their Factories, or other Places of their Trade in the said *East-Indies*, for Security and Defence of the same, and to chuse Commanders and Officers over them, and to give them Power and Authority by Commissions, under their Common Seal, or otherwise, to continue, or make Peace or War with any Prince or People that are not Christians, in any Places of their Trade, as shall be most for the advantage and benefit of the said Governour and Company, and of their Trade, and also to right and recompence themselves upon the Goods, Estate, or People of those Parts, by whom the said Governour and Company shall sustain any Injury, Loss, or Damage ; or upon any other People whatsoever, that shall any ways interrupt, wrong, or injure them in their said Trade, within the said Places, Territories, and Limits, granted unto the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, by this Charter ; and that it shall, and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour and Company, and their Successors, from time to time, and at all times from henceforth, to erect, and build such Castles, Fortifications, Forts, Garisons, Colonies, or Plantations, at *St. Helena*, as also elsewhere within the Limits and Bounds of Trade , granted unto the said Governour and Company, as aforesaid, as they in their Discretions shall think fit and requisite ;

fire; and for the supplying of such as shall be requisite, to keep, and be in the same, to send out of this Kingdom to the said Castles, Fortifications, Forts, Garisons, Colonies or Plantations, all kind of Cloathing, Provision of Victuals, Ammunition, and Implements necessary for such purpose, without paying of any Customs, Subsidy, or other Duty for the same: As also, to transport and carry over such number of Men, being willing thereto, as they shall think fit, and also to govern them in such legal and reasonable manner as the said Governour and Company shall think fit, and to inflict Punishment for Misdemeanor, or impose such Fines upon them for Breach of their Orders, as in these Presents are formerly expressed.

And further, Our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, We do grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of *London*, trading into the *East Indies*, and to their Successors, full Power and lawful Authority, to seize upon the Persons of all such *English*, or any other Our Subjects in the said *East Indies*, which shall sail in any *Indian* or *English* Vessel, or inhabit in those Parts, without the Leave and License of the said Governour and Company in that behalf first had and obtained, or that shall contemn or disobey their Orders, and send them to *England*. And that all and every Person or Persons, being our Subjects, any ways employed by the said Governour and Company in the said *East-Indies*, or any other Place within the Parts, Places, or Limits before by these Presents, granted unto the said Governour and Company, shall be liable unto, and suffer such Punishment for any Offences by them committed

committed in the said *East-Indies*, and Parts before granted, as the President and Council for the said Governour and Company there shall think fit, and the Merit of the Offence shall require; and in case any Person or Persons being convicted and sentenced by the President and Council of the said Governour and Company in the said *East-Indies*, their Factors or Agents there, for any Offence by them done, shall appeal from the same; That then, and in every such Case, it shall and may be lawful for the said President and Council, Factors or Agents, to seize upon him or them, and to carry him or them Prisoners into *England* to the said Governour and Company there, to receive such condign Punishment as the Merits of his Cause shall require, and the Laws of this Nation allow of; and for the better discovery of Abuses and Injuries to be done unto the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, by any their Servants by them employed in the said *East-Indies*, or Voyages thither, it shall and may be lawful to, and for the said Governour and Company, and respective Presidents, chief Agent, or Governour in the said *East-Indies*, to examine upon Oath all Factorers, Masters, Purfers, *supra* Cargoes, Commanders of Castles, Forts, Fortifications, Plantations, or Colonies, and other Persons, touching or concerning any Matter or thing in which by Law and Usage an Oath may be administered, so as the said Oath and the Matter therein contained, be not repugnant to the Laws of this Our Realm. Provided always nevertheless, and Our Will and Pleasure is, That these Our Letters Patents, or any thing therein contained, shall not in any sort extend to give or grant any License, Power or Authority, unto the

said Governour and Company of Merchants of
London, trading into the *East-Indies*, or to any
 of them, to undertake or address any Trade into
 any Country, Port, Island, Haven, City, Creek,
 Town, or Place already in the lawful and actual
 Possession of any such Christian Prince or State,
 as at this present, or at any time hereafter shall
 be in League or Amity with Us, Our Heirs, or
 Successors, and which doth not or will not ac-
 cept of such Trade, but doth overtly declare and
 publish the same to be utterly against his or their
 good Will and Liking, any thing before in these
 Presents contained to the contrary thereof not-
 withstanding. Provided also, That if it shall
 hereafter appear to Us, Our Heirs, or Successors,
 that this Grant, or the continuance thereof in the
 whole, or any part thereof, shall not be profitable
 for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, or to this Our
 Realm; That then, and from thenceforth upon,
 and after Three Years Warning to be given to
 the said Company, by Us, Our Heirs, or Succe-
 ssors, under Our, or their Privy Seal, or Sign Ma-
 nual, this present Grant shall cease, be void, and
 terminated, to all intents, constructions and purpo-
 ses; willing hereby, and straitly charging and
 commanding all and singular Our Admirals, Vice-
 Admirals, Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Escheators,
 Constables, Bailiffs, and all and singular other
 Our Officers, Ministers, Liege-men, and Subjects
 whatsoever, to be aiding, fauguring, helping and
 assisting to the said Governour and Company, and
 to their Successors, and to their Deputies, Officers,
 Factorers, Servants, Assigns, and Ministers, and
 every of them, in executing and enjoying the
 Premises as well on Land as on Sea from time
 to time, when you or any of you shall be there-
 unto

unto required, any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation, or Restraint heretofore, had, made, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause, or Thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. In witness, &c. Witness Our Self at *Westminster* the Third Day of *April*, in the Thirteenth Year of Our Reign.

May it please Your most Excellent Majesty,

YOUR Majesty is hereby graciously pleased to confirm the Charter formerly granted by Your late Royal Grandfather King James of Blessed Memory, to the Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, granting them such several Additional Powers and Clauses, as was humbly desired and presented in a Scheme to Your Majesty.

Signified to be Your Majesty's Pleasure under Your Royal Sign Manual.

20 Martij 1660.

G. Palmer

F I N I S.

